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VOL. CCCCXLV.

FREDERICK THE GREAT BY THOMAS CARLYLE.

VOL. II.

HISTORY
OF
FRIEDRICH II. OF PRUSSIA,
CALLED
FREDERICK THE GREAT.

BY
THOMAS CARLYLE.

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VOL. II.

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BOOK III.

THE HOHENZOLLERNS IN BRANDENBURG.

(Continued.)

CHAPTER XII.

OF ALBERT FRIEDRICH, THE SECOND DUKE OF PREUSSEN.

DUKE ALBERT died in 1568, laden with years, and in his latter time greatly broken-down by other troubles. His Prussian *Raths* (Councillors) were disobedient, his Osianders and Lutheran-Calvinist Theologians were all in fire and flame against each other: the poor old man, with the best dispositions, but without power to realise them, had much to do and to suffer. Pious, just and honourable, intending the best, but losing his memory, and incapable of business, as he now complained. In his sixtieth year he had married a second time, a young Brunswick Princess, with whose foolish Brother, Eric, he had much trouble; and who at last herself took so ill with the insolence and violence of these intrusive Councillors and Theologians, that the household-life she led beside her old Husband and them became intolerable to her; and she withdrew to another residence, — a little Hunting-seat at Neuhausen, half a dozen miles from Königsberg; — and there, or at

Carlyle, Frederic the Great. II.

Labiau, still farther off, lived mostly, in a separate condition, for the rest of her life. Separate for life: — nevertheless they happened to die on the same day; 20th March 1568, they were simultaneously delivered from their troubles in this world.*

Albert left one Son; the second child of this last Wife: his one child by the former Wife, a daughter now of good years, was married to the Duke of Mecklenburg. Son's name was Albert Friedrich; age, at his Father's death, fifteen. A promising young Prince, but of sensitive abstruse temper; — held under heavy tutelage by his Rathes and Theologians; and spurting-up against them, in explosive rebellion, from time to time. He now (1568) was to be sovereign Duke of Preussen, and the one representative of the Culmbach Line in that fine Territory; Markgraf George Friedrich of Anspach, the only other Culmbacher, being childless, though wedded.

We need not doubt, the Brandenburg House, — old Kurfürst Joachim II. still alive, and thrifty Johann George the Heir-apparent, — kept a watchful eye on those emergencies. But it was difficult to interfere directly; the native Prussian Rathes were very jealous, and Poland itself was a ticklish Sovereignty to deal with. Albert Friedrich being still a Minor, the Polish King, Sigismund, proposed to undertake the guardianship of him, as became a superior lord to a subject vassal on such an occasion. But the Prussian Rathes assured his Majesty, "Their young Prince was of such

* Hübner, tab. 181; Stenzel, i. 342.

a lively intellect, he was perfectly fit to conduct the affairs of the Government" (especially with such a Body of expert Councillors to help him), "and might be at once declared of age." Which was accordingly the course followed; Poland caring little for it; Brandenburg digesting the arrangement as it could. And thus it continued for some years, even under new difficulties that arose; the official Clique of Rathes being the real Government of the Country; and poor young Albert Friedrich bursting-out occasionally into tears against them, occasionally into futile humours of a fiery nature. Osiander-Theology, and the battle of the '*doxies*' ran very high; nor was Prussian Officiality a beautiful thing.

These Prussian Rathes, and the Prussian *Ritterschaft* generally (Knights, Land-Aristocracy), which had its *Stände* (States, or meetings of Parliament after a sort), were all along of a mutinous, contumacious humour. The idea had got into their minds, That they were by birth what the ancient Ritters by election had been; entitled, fit or not fit, to share the Government promotions among them: "The Duke is hereditary in his office; why not we? All Offices, are they not, by nature, ours to share among us?" The Duke's notion, again, was to have the work of his Offices effectually done; small matter by whom: the Ritters looked less to that side of the question;—regarded any "Foreigner" (German-Anspacher, or other Non-Prussian), whatever his merit, as an intruder, usurper, or kind of thief, when seen in office. Their contentions, contumacies

and pretensions were accordingly manifold. They had dreams of an "Aristocratic Republic, with the Sovereign reduced to zero," like what their Polish neighbours grew to. They had various dreams; and individuals among them broke out, from time to time, into high acts of insolence and mutiny. It took a hundred-and-fifty years of Brandenburg horse-breaking, sometimes with sharp manipulation and a potent curb-bit, to dispossess them of that notion, and make them go steadily in harness. Which also, however, was, at last, got done by the Hohenzollerns.

*Of Duke Albert Friedrich's Marriage: who his Wife was,
and what her possible Dowry.*

In a year or two, there came to be question of the marrying of young Duke Friedrich Albert. After due consultation, the Princess fixed upon was Maria Eleonora, eldest Daughter of the then Duke of Cleve: to him a proper Embassy was sent with that object; and came back with Yes for answer. Duke of Cleve, at that time, was Wilhelm, called "the Rich" in History-Books; a Sovereign of some extent in those lower Rhine-countries. Whom I can connect with the English reader's memory in no readier way than by the fact, That he was younger brother, one year younger, of a certain "Anne of Cleves;" — a large fat Lady, who was rather scurvily used in this country; being called, by Henry VIII. and us, a "great Flanders mare," unsuitable for espousal with a King of delicate feelings!

This Anne of Cleves, who took matters quietly and lived on her pension, when rejected by King Henry, was Aunt of the young Lady now in question for Preussen. She was still alive here in England, pleasantly quiet "at Burley on the Hill," till Maria Eleonora was seven years old; — who possibly enough still reads in her memory some fading vestige of new black frocks or trimmings, and brief court-mourning, on the death of poor Aunt Anne over seas. — Another Aunt is more honourably distinguished: Sibylla, Wife of our noble Saxon Elector, Johann Friedrich the Magnanimous, who lost his Electorate and almost his Life for religion's sake, as we have seen, by whom, in his perils and distresses, Sibylla stood always, like a very true and noble Wife.

Duke Wilhelm himself was a man of considerable mark in his day. His Duchy of Cleve included not only Cleve-Propre, but Jülich (*Juliers*), Berg, which latter pair of Duchies were a better thing than Cleve-Propre: — Jülich, Berg and various other small Principalities, which, gradually agglomerating by marriage, heritage and the chance of events in successive centuries, had at length come all into Wilhelm's hands; so that he got the name of Wilhelm the Rich among his contemporaries. He seems to have been of a headlong, blustery, uncertain disposition; much tossed-about in the controversies of his day. At one time he was a Protestant declared; not without reasons of various kinds. The Duchy of Geldern (what we call *Guelders*)

had fallen to him, by express bequest of the last Owner, whose Line was out; and Wilhelm took possession. But the Kaiser Karl V. quite refused to let him keep possession. Whereupon Wilhelm had joined with the French (it was in the Moritz-Alcibiades time); had declared war, and taken other high measures: but it came to nothing, or to less. The end was, Wilhelm had to "come upon his knees" before the Kaiser, and beg forgiveness; quite renouncing Geldern, which accordingly has gone its own different road ever since. Wilhelm was zealously Protestant in those days; as his people are, and as he still is, at the period we treat of. But he went into Papistry, not long after; and made other sudden turns and misventures: to all appearance, rather an abrupt, blustery, uncertain Herr. It is to him that Albert Friedrich, the young Duke of Preussen, guided by his Council now (Year 1572) sends an Embassy, demanding his eldest Daughter, Maria Eleonora, to wife.

Duke Wilhelm answered Yea; "sent a Counter-Embassy," with what else was necessary; and in due time the young Bride, with her Father, set out towards Preussen, such being the arrangement, there to complete the matter. They had got as far as Berlin, warmly welcomed by the Kurfürst Johann George; when, from Königsberg, a sad message reached them: namely, That the young Duke had suddenly been seized with an invincible depression and overclouding of mind, not quite to be characterised by the name of madness, but still less by that of perfect sanity. His

eagerness to see his Bride was the same as formerly; but his spiritual health was in the questionable state described. The young Lady paused for a little, in such mood as we may fancy. She had already lost two offers, Bridegrooms snatched away by death, says Pauli;* and thought it might be ominous to refuse the third. So she decided to go on; dashed aside her father's doubts; sent her unhealthy Bridegroom "a flower-garland as love-token," who duly responded; and Father Wilhelm and she proceeded, as if nothing were wrong. The spiritual state of the Prince, she found, had not been exaggerated to her. His humours and ways were strange, questionable; other than one could have wished. Such as he was, however, she wedded him on the appointed terms; — hoping probably for a recovery, which never came.

The case of Albert's malady is to this day dim; and strange tales are current as to the origin of it, which the curious in Physiology may consult; they are not fit for reporting here.** It seems to have consisted in an overclouding, rather than a total ruin of the mind. Incurable depression there was; gloomy torpor alternating with fits of vehement activity or suffering; great discontinuity at all times: — evident unfitness for business. It was long hoped he might recover. And Doctors in Divinity and in Medicine undertook him: Theologians, Exorcists, Physicians, Quacks; but no cure came of it, nothing but mutual condemnations, violences and even execrations, from the said

* Pauli, iv. 512.

** Ib. iv. 476.

Doctors and their respective Official patrons, lay and clerical. Must have been such a scene for a young Wife as has seldom occurred, in romance or reality! Children continued to be born; daughter after daughter; but no son that lived.

Margraf George Friedrich comes to Preussen, to administer.

After five-years space, in 1578,* cure being now hopeless, and the very Council admitting that the Duke was incapable of business, — George Friedrich of Anspach-Baireuth came into the country to take charge of him; having already, he and the other Brandenburgers, negotiated the matter with the King of Poland, in whose power it mostly lay.

George Friedrich was by no means welcome to the Prussian Council, nor to the Wife, nor to the Landed Aristocracy; — other than welcome, for reasons we can guess. But he proved, in the judgment of all fair witnesses, an excellent Governor; and, for six-and-twenty years, administered the country with great and lasting advantage to it. His Portraits represent to us a large ponderous figure of a man, very fat in his latter years; with an air of honest sense, dignity, composed solidity; — very fit for the task now on hand.

He resolutely, though in mild form, smoothed-down the flaming fires of his Clergy; commanding now this controversy and then that other controversy (*"de con-*

* Pauli, iv. 476, 481, 482.

creto et de inconcreto," or whatever they were) to fall strictly silent; to carry themselves on by thought and meditation merely, and without words. He tamed the mutinous Aristocracy, the mutinous Bürgermeisters, Town-council of Königsberg, whatever mutiny there was. He drained bogs, says old Rentsch; he felled woods, made roads, established inns. Prussia was well governed till George's death, which happened in the year 1603.* Anspach, in the mean while, Anspach, Baireuth and Jägerndorf, which were latterly all his, he had governed by deputy; no need of visiting those quiet countries, except for purposes of kindly recreation, or for a swift general supervision, now and then. By all accounts, an excellent, stedfast, wise and just man, this fat George Friedrich; worthy of the Father that produced him ("*Nit Kop ab, löver Först, nit Kop ab!*"), — and that is saying much.

By his death without children, much territory fell home to the Elder House; to be disposed of as was settled in the *Gera Bond* five years before. Anspach and Baireuth went to two Brothers of the now Elector, Kurfürst Joachim Friedrich, sons of Johann George of blessed memory: founders, they, of the "New Line," of whom we know. Jägerndorf the Elector himself got; and he, not long after, settled it on one of his own sons, a new Johann George, who at that time was fallen rather landless and out of a career: "Johann George of Jägerndorf," so called thenceforth; whose history will concern us by and by. Prussen was to

* Rentsch, pp. 666-668.

be incorporated with the Electorate, — were possession of it once had. But that is a ticklish point; still ticklish in spite of rights, and liable to perverse accidents that may arise.

Joachim Friedrich, as we intimated once, was not wanting to himself on this occasion. But the affair was full of intricacies; a very wasps'-nest of angry humours; and required to be handled with delicacy, though with force and decision. Joachim Friedrich's eldest Son, Johann Sigismund, Electoral Prince of Brandenburg, had already, in 1594, married one of Albert Friedrich the hypochondriac Duke of Preussen's daughters; and there was a promising family of children; no lack of children. Nevertheless prudent Joachim Friedrich himself, now a widower, age towards sixty, did farther, in the present emergency, marry another of these Princesses, a younger Sister of his Son's Wife, — seven months after George Friedrich's death, — to make assurance doubly sure. A man not to be baulked, if he can help it. By virtue of excellent management, — Duchess, Prussian *Stände* (States), and Polish Crown, needing all to be contented, — Joachim Friedrich, with gentle strong pressure, did furthermore squeeze his way into the actual Guardianship of Preussen and the imbecile Duke, which was his by right. This latter feat he achieved in the course of another year (11th March 1605);* and thereby fairly got hold of Preussen; which he grasped, "knuckles-white," as we

* Stenzel, i. 358.

may say; and which his descendants have never quitted since.

Good management was very necessary. The thing was difficult; — and also was of more importance than we yet altogether see. Not Preussen only, but a still better country, the Duchy of Cleve, Cleve-Jülich, Duke Wilhelm's Heritage down in the Rhineland, — Heritage turning-out now to be of right his eldest Daughter's here, and likely now to drop soon, — is involved in the thing. This first crisis, of getting into the Prussian Administratorship fallen vacant, our vigilant Kurfürst Joachim Friedrich has successfully managed; and he holds his grip, knuckles-white. Before long, a second crisis comes; where also he will have to grasp decisively in, — he, or those that stand for him, and whose knuckles *can* still hold. But that may go to a new Chapter.

CHAPTER XIII.

NINTH KURFÜRST JOHANN SIGISMUND.

IN the summer of 1608 (23d May 1608), Johann Sigismund's (and his Father's) Mother-in-law, the poor Wife of the poor imbecile Duke of Preussen, died.* Upon which Johann Sigismund, Heir-Apparent of Brandenburg and its expectancies, was instantly despatched from Berlin, to gather-up the threads cut loose by that event, and see that the matter took no damage. On the road thither news reached him that his own Father, old Joachim Friedrich, was dead (18th July 1608); that he himself was now Kurfürst;** and that numerous threads were loose at both ends of his affairs.

The "young man," — not now so young, being full thirty-five and of fair experience, — was in difficulty, under these overwhelming tidings; and puzzled, for a little, whether to advance or to return. He decided to advance, and settle Prussian matters, where the peril and the risk were; Brandenburg business he could do by rescripts.

His difficulties in Preussen, and at the Polish Court, were in fact immense. But after a space of eight or nine months, he did, by excellent management,

* Maria Eleonora, Duke Wilhelm of Clève's eldest Daughter: 1550, 1573, 1608 (Hübner, t. 286).

** 1573, 1608 1619

not sparing money judiciously laid-out on individuals, arrive at some adjustment, better or worse, and got Preussen in hand; * legal Administrator of the imbecile Duke, as his Father had been. After which he had to run for Brandenburg, without loss of time; great matters being there in the wind. Nothing wrong in Brandenburg, indeed; but the great Cleve Heritage is dropping, has dropped; over in Cleve, an immense expectancy is now come to the point of deciding itself.

How the Cleve Heritage dropped, and many sprang to pick it up.

Wilhelm of Cleve, the explosive Duke, whom we saw at Berlin and Königsberg at the wedding of this poor Lady now deceased, had in the marriage-contract, as he did in all subsequent contracts and deeds of like nature, announced a Settlement of his Estates, which was now become of the highest moment for Johann Sigismund. The Country at that time called Duchy of Cleve, consisted, as we said above, not only of Cleve-Propre, but of two other still better Duchies, Jülich and Berg; then of the *Grafschaft* (County) of Ravensberg, County of Mark, Lordship of — In fact, it was a multifarious agglomerate of many little countries, gathered by marriage, heritage and luck, in the course of centuries, and now united in the hand of this Duke Wilhelm. It amounted perhaps to two Yorkshires in extent.** A naturally opulent Country, of fertile mead-

* 29th April 1609. Stenzel, i. 370.

** See Büsching: *Erdbeschreibung*, v. 642-734.

ows, shipping capabilities, metalliferous hills; and, at this time, in consequence of the Dutch-Spanish War, and the multitude of Protestant refugees, it was getting filled with ingenious industries; and rising to be, what it still is, the busiest quarter of Germany. A Country lowing with kine; the hum of the flax-spindle heard in its cottages, in those old days, — “much of the linen called Hollands is made in Jülich, and only bleached, “stamped and sold, by the Dutch,” says Büsching. A Country, in our days, which is shrouded at short intervals with the due canopy of coal-smoke, and loud with sounds of the anvil and the loom.

This Duchy of Cleve, all this fine agglomerate of Duchies, Duke Wilhelm settled, were to be inherited in a piece, by his eldest (or indeed, as it soon proved, his only) Son and the heirs of that Son, if there were any. Failing heirs of that only Son, then the entire Duchy of Cleve was to go to Maria Eleanora as eldest Daughter, now marrying to Friedrich Albert, Duke of Prussia, and to their heirs lawfully begotten: heirs female, if there happened to be no male. The other Sisters, of whom there were three, were none of them to have the least pretence to inherit Cleve or any part of it. On the contrary, they were, in such event, of the eldest Daughter or her heirs coming to inherit Cleve, to have each of them a sum of ready-money paid * by the said inheritrix of Cleve or her heirs; and

* “200,000 *goldgulden*,” about 100,000*l.*: Paull, vi. 542; iii. 504.

on receiving that, were to consider their claims entirely fulfilled, and to cease thinking of Cleve for the future.

This Settlement, by express privilege of Kaiser Karl V., nay of Kaiser Maximilian before him, and the Laws of the Reich, Duke Wilhelm doubted not he was entitled to make: and this Settlement he made; his Lawyers writing down the terms, in their wearisome way, perhaps six times over; and struggling by all methods to guard against the least misunderstanding. Cleve with all its appurtenances, Jülich, Berg and the rest, goes to the eldest Sister and her heirs, male or female: If she have no heirs, male or female, then, but not till then, the next Sister steps into her shoes in that matter; but if she have, then, we repeat for the sixth and last time, no Sister or Sister's Representative has the least word to say to it, but takes her 100,000*l.*, and ceases thinking of Cleve.

The other three Sisters were all gradually married; — one of them to Pfalz-Neuburg, an eminent Prince, in the Bavarian region called the *Ober-Pfalz* (Upper Palatinate), who, or at least whose eldest son, is much worth mentioning and remembering by us here; — and, in all these marriage-contracts, Wilhelm and his Lawyers expressed themselves to the like effect, and in the like elaborate sixfold manner: so that Wilhelm and they thought there could nowhere in the world be any doubt about it.

Shortly after signing the last of these marriage-contracts, or perhaps it was in the course of signing them, Duke Wilhelm had a stroke of palsy. He had, before

that, gone into Papistry again, poor man. The truth is, he had repeated strokes; and being an abrupt, explosive Herr, he at last quite yielded to palsy; and sank slowly out of the world, in a cloud of semi-insanity, which lasted almost twenty years.* Duke Wilhelm did leave a Son, Johann Wilhelm, who succeeded him as Duke. But this Son also proved explosive; went half and at length wholly insane. Jesuit Priests, and their intrigues to bring back a Protestant country to the bosom of the Church, wrapped the poor man, all his days, as in a burning Nessus'-Shirt; and he did little but mischief in the world. He married, had no children; he accused his innocent Wife, the Jesuits and he, of infidelity. Got her judged, not properly sentenced; and then strangled her, he and they, in her bed: — "Jacobea of Baden (1597);" a thrice-tragic history. Then he married again; Jesuits being extremely anxious for an Orthodox heir: but again there came no heir; there came only new blazings of the Nessus'-Shirt. In fine, the poor man died (Spring 1609), and made the world rid of him. Died, 25th March 1609; that is the precise date;—about a month before our new Elector, Johann Sigismund, got his affairs winded-up at the Polish Court, and came galloping home in such haste. There was pressing need of him in the Cleve regions.

For the painful exactitude of Duke Wilhelm and his Lawyers has profited little; and there are claimants

* Died 25th January 1592, age 76.

on claimants rising for that valuable Cleve Country. As indeed Johann Sigismund had anticipated, and been warned from all quarters to expect. For months past, he has had his faculties bent, with lynx-eyed attention, on that scene of things; doubly and trebly impatient to get Preussen soldered-up, ever since this other matter came to the bursting point. What could be done by the utmost vigilance of his Deputies, he had done. It was the 25th of March when the mad Duke died: on the 4th of April, Johann Sigismund's Deputy, attended by a Notary to record the act, "fixed-up the Brandenburg Arms on the Government-House of Cleve;"* on the 5th, they did the same at Düsseldorf; on the following days, at Jülich and the other Towns. But already on the 5th, they had hardly got done at Düsseldorf, when there appeared — young Wolfgang Wilhelm, Heir-Apparent of that eminent Pfalz-Neuburg, he in person, to put-up the Pfalz-Neuburg Arms! Pfalz-Neuburg, who married the Second Daughter, he is actually claiming, then; — the whole, or part? Both are sensible that possession is nine points in law.

Pfalz-Neuburg's claim was for the whole Duchy. "All my serene Mother's!" cried the young Heir of Pfalz-Neuburg: "Properly all mine!" cried he. "Is not she *nearest* of kin? Second Daughter, true; but the Daughter; not Daughter *of* a Daughter, as you are (as your serene Electress is), O Durchlaucht of Brandenburg: — consider, besides, you are female, I am male!" That was Pfalz-Neuburg's logic: none of the best, I

* Pauli, vi. 566.

think, in forensic genealogy. His tenth point was perhaps rather weak; but he had possession, co-possession, and the nine points good. The other Two Sisters, by their Sons or Husbands, claimed likewise; but not the whole: "Divide it," said they: "that surely is the real meaning of Karl V.'s Deed of Privilege to make such a Testament. Divide it among the Four Daughters or their representatives, and let us all have shares!"

Nor were these four claimants by any means all. The Saxon Princes next claimed; two sets of Saxon Princes. First the minor set, Gotha-Weimar and the rest, the Ernestine Line so-called; representatives of Johann Friedrich the Magnanimous, who lost the Electorate for religion's sake, at Mühlberg in the past century, and from *major* became *minor* in Saxon Genealogy. "Magnanimous Johann Friedrich," said they, "had to wife an Aunt of the now deceased Duke of Cleve; Wife Sibylla (Sister of the Flanders Mare), of famous memory, our lineal Ancestress. In favour of whom *her* Father, the then reigning Duke of Cleve, made a marriage-contract of precisely similar import to this your Prussian one; he, and barred all his descendants, if contracts are to be valid." This is the claim of the Ernestine Line of Saxon Princes; not like to go for much, in their present disintegrated condition.

But the Albertine Line, the present Elector of Saxony, also claims: "Here is a Deed," said he, "executed by Kaiser Friedrich III., in the year 1483,* generations before your Kaiser Karl; Deed solemnly

* Paull, *ubi supra*; Hübner, t. 266.

granting to Albert, junior of Sachsen, and to his heirs, the reversion of those same Duchies, should the Male Line happen to fail, as it was then likely to do. How could Kaiser Max revoke his Father's deed, or Kaiser Karl his Great-Grandfather's? Little Albert, the Albert of the *Prinzenraub*, he who grew big, and fought lion-like for his Kaiser in the Netherlands and Western Countries; he and his have clearly the heir-ship of Cleve by right; and we, now grown Electors, and Seniors of Saxony, demand it of a grateful House of Hapsburg, — and will study to make ourselves convenient in return." —

"Nay, if that is your rule, that old Laws and Deeds are to come in bar of new, we," cry a multitude of persons, — French Dukes of Nevers, and all manner of remote, exotic figures among them, — "we are the real heirs! Ravensberg, Mark, Berg, Ravenstein, this patch and the other of that large Duchy of yours, were they not from primeval time expressly limited to heirs-male? Heirs-male; and we now are the nearest heirs-male of said patches and portions; and will prove it!" — In short, there never was such a Lawsuit, — so fat an affair for the attorney species, if that had been the way of managing it, — as this of Cleve was likely to prove.

The Kaiser's thoughts about it, and the World's.

What greatly complicated the affair, too, was the interest the Kaiser took in it. The Kaiser could not

well brook a powerful Protestant in that country; still less could his cousin the Spaniard. Spaniards, worn to the ground, coercing that world-famous Dutch Revolt, and astonished to find that they could not coerce it at all, had resolved at this time to take breath before trying farther. Spaniards and Dutch, after Fifty years of such fighting as we know, have made a Twelve-years Truce (1609): but the baffled Spaniard, panting, pale in his futile rage and sweat, has not given-up the matter; he is only taking breath, and will try it again. Now Cleve is his road into Holland, in such adventure; no success possible if Cleve be not in good hands. Brandenburg is Protestant, powerful; Brandenburg will not do for a neighbour there.

Nor will Pfalz-Neuburg. A Protestant of Protestants, this Palatine Neuburg too, — junior branch, possible heir in time coming, of *Kur-Pfalz* (Elector Palatine) himself, in the Rhine Countries; of *Kur-Pfalz*, who is acknowledged Chief Protestant; official "President" of the "Evangelical Union" they have lately made among them, in these menacing times: — Pfalz-Neuburg too, this young Wolfgang Wilhelm, if he do not break off kind, might be very awkward to the Kaiser in Cleve-Jülich. Nay Saxony itself; for they are all Protestants: — unless perhaps Saxony might become pliant, and try to make itself useful to a munificent Imperial House?

Evidently what would best suit the Kaiser and Spaniards, were this, That no strong Power whatever got footing in Cleve, to grow stronger by the possession

of such a country: — *better* than best it would suit, if he, the Kaiser, could himself get it smuggled into his hands, and there hold it fast! Which privately was the course resolved upon at headquarters. — In this way the "Succession Controversy of the Cleve Duchies" is coming to be a very high matter; mixing itself up with the grand Protestant-Papal Controversy, the general armed-lawsuit of mankind in that generation. Kaiser, Spaniard, Dutch, English, French Henri IV. and all mortals, are getting concerned in the decision of it.

CHAPTER XIV.

SYMPTOMS OF A GREAT WAR COMING.

MEANWHILE Brandenburg and Neuburg both hold grip of Cleve in that manner, with a mutually menacing inquiring expression of countenance; each grasps it (so to speak) convulsively with the one hand, and has with the other hand his sword by the hilt, ready to fly out. But to understand this Brandenburg-Neuburg phenomenon and the then significance of the Cleve-Jülich Controversy, we must take the following bits of Chronology along with us. For the German Empire, with Protestant complaints, and Papist usurpations and severities, was at this time all a continent of sour thick smoke, already breaking-out into dull-red flashes here and there, — symptoms of the universal conflagration of a Thirty-Years War, which followed. *Symptom First* is that of Donauwörth, and dates above a year back.

First Symptom; Donauwörth, 1608.

Donauwörth, a Protestant Imperial Free town, in the Bavarian regions, had been, for some fault on the part of the populace against a flaring Mass-procession which had no business to be there, put under Ban of the Empire; had been seized accordingly (December 1607), and much cuffed, and shaken about, by Duke

Maximilian of Bavaria, as executor of the said Ban;*— who, what was still worse, would by no means give-up the Town, when he had done with it; Town being handy to him, and the man being stout and violently Papist. Hence the “Evangelical Union” which we saw, — which has not taken Donauwörth yet. Nor ever will! Donauwörth never was retaken; but is Bavarian at this hour. A Town nameable in History ever since. Not to say withal, that it is where Marlborough did “the Lines of Schellenberg” long after: Schellenberg (“Jingle-Hill,” so to render it) looks down, across the Danube or Donau River, upon Donauwörth, — its “Lines,” and other histories, now much abolished, and quiet under grass.

But now all Protestantism sounding everywhere, in angry mournful tone, “Donauwörth! Give up Donauwörth!” — and an “Evangelical Union,” with moneys, with theoretic contingents of force, being on foot for that and the like objects; — we can fancy what a scramble this of Cleve-Jülich was like to be; and especially what effect this duelling attitude of Brandenburg and Neuburg had on the Protestant mind. Protestant neighbours, Landgraf Moritz of Hessen-Cassel at their head, intervene in tremulous haste, in the Cleve-Jülich affair: “Peace, O friends! Some bargain; peaceable joint-possession; any temporary bargain, till we see! Can two Protestants fall to slashing one another, in such an aspect of the Reich and its Jesuitries?” — And they did agree (Dortmund, 10th May 1609), the first

* Michaelis, ii. 216; *Buddel's Lexicon*, i. 853.

of their innumerable "agreements," to some temporary joint-possession; — the thrice-thankful Country doing homage to both, "with oath to the one that *shall* be found genuine." And they did endeavour to govern jointly, and to keep the peace on those terms, though it was not easy.

For the Kaiser had already said (or his Aulic Council and Spanish Cousin, poor Kaiser Rodolf caring too little about these things,* had already said), Cleve must absolutely not go into wrong hands. For which what safe method is there, but that the Kaiser himself become proprietor? A Letter is yet extant, from the Aulic Council to their Vice-Chancellor, who had been sent to negotiate this matter with the parties; Letter to the effect, That such result was the only good one; that it must be achieved; "that he must devise all "manner of quirks (*alle Spitzfindigkeiten auffordern sollte*)," and achieve it.** This curious Letter of a sublime Aulic Council, or Imperial *Hof-Rath*, to its *Vice-Kanzler*, still exists.

And accordingly quirks did not prove undevisable

* Rodolf II. (Kepler's too insolvent "Patron"), 1576-1612; then Matthias, Rodolf's Brother, 1612-1619, rather tolerant to Protestants; — then Ferdinand II. his Uncle's Son, 1619-1637, much the reverse of tolerant, by whom mainly came the Thirty-Years War, — were the Kaisers of this Period.

Ferdinand III., Son of II. (1637-1657), who finished out the Thirty-Years War, partly by fighting of his own in young days (Battle of Nördlingen his grandest feat), was Father of

Kaiser Leopold (1658-1705), — whose Two Sons were

Kaiser Joseph (1705-1711), and Kaiser Karl VI. (1711-1740), Maria Theresa's Father.

** Pauli, iii. 805.

on behalf of the Kaiser. "Since you cannot agree," said the Kaiser, "and there are so many of you who claim (we having privately stirred-up several of you to the feat), there will be nothing for it, but the Kaiser must put the Country under sequestration, and take possession of it with his own troops, till a decision be arrived at, — which probably will not be soon!"

Second Symptom; Seizure of Jülich by the Kaiser, and Siege and Recapture of it by the Protestant Parties, 1610. Whereupon "Catholic League," to balance "Evangelical Union."

And the Kaiser forthwith did as he had said; sent Archduke Leopold with troops, who forcibly took the Castle of Jülich; commanding all other castles and places to surrender and sequestrate themselves, in like fashion; threatening Brandenburg and Neuburg, in a dreadful manner, with *Reichs-Acht* (Ban of the Empire), if they presumed to show contumacy. Upon which Brandenburg and Neuburg, ranking themselves together, showed decided contumacy; "tore down the Kaiser's Proclamation," * having good help at their back.

And accordingly, "on the 4th of September 1610," after a two-months siege, they, or the Dutch, French, and Evangelical-Union Troops bombarding along with them, and "many English volunteers" to help, retook Jülich, and packed Leopold away again.** The Dutch

* Pauli, iii. 524. Emperor's Proclamation, in Düsseldorf, 32d July 1609, — taken down solemnly, 1st August 1609,

** Pauli, iii. 527,

and the French were especially anxious about this Cleve business, — poor Henri IV. was just putting those French troops in motion towards Jülich, when Ravallac, the distracted Devil's-Jesuit, did his stroke upon him; so that another than Henri had to lead in that expedition. The actual Captain at the Siege was Prince Christian of Anhalt, by repute the first soldier of Germany at that period: he had a horse shot under him, the business being very hot and furious; — he had still worse fortune in the course of years. There were "many English volunteers" at this Siege; English Nation hugely interested in it, though their King would not act except diplomatically. It was the talk of all the then world, — the evening song and the morning prayer of Protestants especially, — till it was got ended in this manner. It deserves to rank as *Symptom Second* in this business; far bigger flare of dull-red in the universal smoke-continent, than that of Donauwörth had been. Are there no memorials left of those "English volunteers," then? * Alas, they might get edited as Bromley's *Royal Letters* are; — and had better lie quiet!

"Evangelical-Union," formed some two years before, with what cause we saw, has Kur-Pfalz** at the head of it; but its troops or operations were never of a very forcible character. Kur-Brandenburg now joined it for-

* In Carlyle's *Miscellanies* (iv. § "Two-Hundred and Fifty Years ago: a Fragment about Duels") is one small scene belonging to them.

** Winter-King's Father; died 9th September 1610, few days after this recapture of Jülich.

mally, as did many more; Kur-Sachsen, anxious to make himself convenient in other quarters, never would. Add to these phenomena, the now decisive appearance of a "Catholic *Liga*" (League of Catholic Princes), which, by way of counterpoise to the "Union," had been got-up by Duke Maximilian of Bavaria several months ago; and which now, under the same guidance, in these bad circumstances, took a great expansion of figure. Duke Maximilian, "*Donauwörth Max*," finding the Evangelical Union go so very high, and his own Kaiser like to be good for little in such business (poor hypochondriac Kaiser Rodolf II., more taken-up with turning-looms and blow-pipes than with matters political, who accordingly is swept-out of Jülich in such summary way), — Donauwörth Max has seen this a necessary institution in the present aspect. But "Union" and "League" rapidly waxed under the sound of the Jülich cannon, as was natural.

Kur-Sachsen, for standing so well aloof from the Union, got from the thankful Kaiser written Titles for these Duchies of Cleve and Jülich; Imperial parchments and infeftments of due extent; but never any Territory in those parts. He never offered fight for his pretensions; and Brandenburg and Neuburg, Neuburg especially, always answered him, "No!" with sword half-drawn. So Kur-Sachsen faded-out again, and took only parchments by the adventure. Practically there was no private Competitor of moment to Brandenburg, except this Wolfgang Wilhelm of Pfalz-Neuburg; he alone having clutched hold. — But we hasten to *Symptom*.

Third, which particularly concerns us, and will be intelligible now at last.

*Symptom Third; a Dinner-Scene at Düsseldorf, 1613:
Spaniards and Dutch shoulder arms in Cleve.*

Brandenburg and Neuburg stood together against third parties; but their joint government was apt to fall in two, when left to itself, and the pressure of danger withdrawn. "They governed by the *Raths* and *Stände* of the Country;" old methods and old official men: each of the two had his own Vice-Regent (*Statthalter*) present on the ground, who jointly presided as they could. Jarrings were unavoidable; but how mend it? Settle the litigated Territory itself, and end their big lawsuit, they could not; often as they tried it, with the whole world encouraging and urging them.* The meetings they had, and the treaties and temporary bargains they made, and kept, and could not keep, in these and in the following years and generations, pass our power of recording.

In 1613 the Brandenburg *Statthalter* was Ernst, the

* Old Sir Henry Wotton, Provost of Eton in his old days, remembers how he went ambassador on this errand, — as on many others equally bootless; — and writes himself "Legatus," not only "thrice to Venice, twice to" &c. &c., but also "once to Holland in the Jullers matter (*semel in Juliacensi negotio*):" see *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ* (London, 1672), Preface. It was "in 1614," say the Biographies vaguely. His Despatches, are they in the Paper-Office still? His good old Book deserves new editing, his good old genially pious life a proper elucidation, by some faithful man.

Elector's younger Brother; Wolfgang Wilhelm in person, for his Father, or rather for himself as heir of his Mother, represented Pfalz-Neuburg. Ernst of Brandenburg had adopted Calvinism as his creed; a thing hateful and horrible to the Lutheran mind (of which sort was Wolfgang Wilhelm), to a degree now altogether inconceivable. Discord arose, in consequence, between the Statthalters, as to official appointments, sacred and secular: "You are for promoting Calvinists!" — "And you, I see, are for promoting Lutherans!" — Johann Sigismund himself had to intervene: Wolfgang Wilhelm and he had their meetings, friendly colloquies; the final colloquy of which is still memorable; and issues in *Symptom Third*.

We said, a strong flame of choler burnt in all these Hohenzollerns, though they held it well down. Johann Sigismund, an excellent man of business, knew how essential a mild tone is: nevertheless he found, as this colloquy went on, that human patience might at length get too much. The scene, after some examination, is conceivable in this wise: Place Düsseldorf, Elector's apartment in the Schloss there; time late in the Year 1613, Day not discoverable by me. The two sat at dinner, after much colloquy all morning: Johann Sigismund, a middle-aged, big-headed, stern-faced, honest-looking man; hair cropped, I observe; and eyelids slightly contracted, as if for sharper vision into matters: Wolfgang Wilhelm, of features fallen dim to me; an airy gentleman, well out of his teens, but, I doubt,

not of wisdom sufficient; evidently very high and stiff in his ways.

His proposal, by way of final settlement, and end to all these brabbles, was this, and he insisted on it: "Give me your eldest Princess to wife; let her dowry be your whole claim on Cleve-Jülich; I will marry her on that condition, and we shall be friends!" Here evidently is a gentleman that does not want for conceit in himself: — consider too, in Johann Sigismund's opinion, he had no right to a square inch of these Territories, though for peace's sake a joint share had been allowed him for the time! "On that condition, jackanapes?" thought Johann Sigismund: "My girl is not a monster; nor at a loss for husbands fully better than you, I should hope!" This he thought, and could not help thinking; but endeavoured to say nothing of it. The young jackanapes went on, insisting. Nature at last prevailed; Johann Sigismund lifted his hand (princely etiquettes melting all into smoke on the sudden), and gave the young jackanapes a slap over the face. Veritable slap; which opened in a dreadful manner the eyes of young Pfalz-Neuburg to his real situation; and sent him off high-flaming, vowing never-imagined vengeance. A remarkable slap; well testified to, — though the old Histories, struck blank with terror, reverence and astonishment, can for most part only symbol it in dumb-show;* — a slap that had important consequences in this world.

* Pufendorf (*Res. Brandenb.*, lib. iv. § 16, p. 212), and many others

For now Wolfgang Wilhelm, flaming-off in never-imagined vengeance, posted straight to München, to Max of Bavaria there; declared himself convinced, or nearly so, of the Roman-Catholic Religion; wooed, and in a few weeks (10th November 1613), wedded Max's younger Sister; and soon after, at Düsseldorf, pompously professed such his blessed change of Belief, — with immense flourish of trumpeting, and jubilant pamphleteering, from Holy Church.* His poor old Father, the devoutest of Protestants, wailed aloud his "Ichabod! the glory is departed!" — holding "weekly fast and humiliation" ever after, — and died in few months of a broken heart. The Catholic League has now a new Member on those terms.

And on the other hand, Johann Sigismund, nearly with the like haste (25th December 1613), declared himself convinced of Calvinism, his younger Brother's creed;** — which continues ever since the Branden-

are in this case. Tobias Pfanner (*Historia Pacis Westphalicae*, lib. i. § 9, p. 26) is explicit: "*Neque, ut infida regnandi societas est, Brandenburgio et Neuburgio diu conveniebat; eorumque furgia, cum matrimonii federe pacari posse propinqui ipsorum credidissent, acrius exarsere; inter epulas, quibus futurum generum Septemvir (the "Sevensman," or Elector, "One of the Seven") excipiebat, hujus enim filia Wolfgango sperabatur, ob nescio quos sermones eo inter utrumque altercatione provecit, ut Elector iras impotentior, nullâ dignitatis, hospitii, cognationis, affinitatisve veremundis cohibitus, intenderit Neuburgio manus, et contra tendentis os verberaverit. Ita, quæ apud concordem vincula caritatis, incitamenta irarum apud infensos erant.*" (Cited in Köhler, *Mänzelustigungen*, xxi. 341; who refers also to Levassor, *Histoire de Louis XIII.*) — Pauli (iii. 542) becomes quite vaporous.

* Köhler, *ubi supra*.

** Pauli, iii. 546.

burg Court-creed, that of the People being mostly Lutheran. Men said, it was to please the Dutch, to please the Jülichers, most of whom are Calvinist. Apologetic Pauli is elaborate, but inconclusive. It was very ill taken at Berlin, where even popular riot arose on the matter. In Prussia too it had its drawbacks.*

And now all being full of mutation, rearrangement and infinite rumour, there marched next year (1614), on slight pretext, resting on great suspicions, Spanish troops into the Jülich-Cleve country, and, countenanced by Neuburg, began seizing garrisons there. Whereupon Dutch troops likewise marched, countenanced by Brandenburg, and occupied other fortresses and garrisons: and so, in every strong-place, there were either Papist-Spaniards or Calvinist-Dutch; who stood there, fronting one another, and could not by treatyng be got out again; — like clouds positively electric *versus* clouds negatively. As indeed was getting to be the case of Germany in general; case fatally visible in every Province, Principality and Parish there: till a thunderstorm, and succession of thunderstorms, of Thirty-Years continuance, broke out. Of which these huge rumours and mutations, and menacings of war, springing out of that final colloquy and slap in the face, are to be taken as the *Third* premonitory Symptom. Spaniards and Dutch stand electrically fronting one another in Cleve for seven years, till their Truce is out, before they clash together; Germany does not wait so long by a couple of years.

* Pauli, iii. 544; Michaelis, i. 349.

Symptom Fourth, and Catastrophe upon the heels of it.

Five years more (1618), and there will have come a *Fourth Symptom*, biggest of all, rapidly consummating the process; — Symptom still famed, of the following external figure: Three Official Gentlemen descending from a window in the Castle of Prag; hurled out by impatient Bohemian Protestantism, a depth of seventy feet, — happily only into dung, and without loss of life. From which follows a “King of Bohemia” elected there, King not unknown to us; — “thunder-clouds” all in one huge clash, and the “continent of sour smoke” blazing all into a continent of thunderous fire: THIRTY-YEARS WAR, as they now call it! Such a conflagration as poor Germany never saw before or since.

These were the *Four preliminary Symptoms* of that dismal business. “As to the primary *causes* of it,” says one of my Authorities, “these lie deep, deep almost as “those of Original Sin. But the proximate causes seem “to me to have been these two: *First*, That the Jesuit-“Priests and Principalities had vowed and resolved to “have, by God’s help *and* by the Devil’s (this was the “peculiarity of it), Europe made Orthodox again: and “then *Secondly*, The fact that a Max of Bavaria existed “at that time, whose fiery character, cunning but rash “head, and fanatically Papist heart disposed him to at- “tempt that enterprise, him with such resources and “capacities, under their bad guidance.”

Carlyle, *Frederic the Great. II.*

Johann Sigismund did many swift decisive strokes of business in his time, businesses of extensive and important nature; but this of the slap to Neuburg has stuck best in the idle memory of mankind. Düsseldorf, Year 1613: it was precisely in the time when that same Friedrich, not yet by any means "King of Bohemia," but already Kur-Pfalz (Cousin of this Neuburg, and head man of the Protestants), was over here in England, on a fine errand; — namely, had married the fair Elizabeth (14th February 1613), James the First's Princess; "Goody Palsgrave," as her Mother floutingly called her, not liking the connexion. What kind of a "King of Bohemia" this Friedrich made, five or six years after, and what sea of troubles he and his entered into, we know: the "*Winter-König*" (Winter-King, fallen in times of *frost*, or built of mere frost, a *snow-king* altogether soluble again) is the name he gets in German Histories. But here is another hook to hang Chronology upon.

This brief Bohemian Kingship had not yet exploded on the Weissenberg of Prag,* when old Sir Henry Wotton, being sent as Ambassador "to *lie* abroad" (as he wittily called it, to his cost) in that Business, saw, in the City of Lintz, in the picturesque green country by the shores of the Donau there, an ingenious person, who is now recognisable as one of the remarkablest of mankind, — Mr. John Kepler, namely: Kepler as Wotton writes him; addressing the great Lord Bacon

* Battle there, Sunday 8th November 1620.

(unhappily without strict date of any kind) on that among other subjects. Mr. John's now ever-memorable watching of those *Motions of the Star Mars*,* with "calculations repeated seventy times," and also with Discovery of the Planetary Laws of this Universe, some ten years ago, appears to be unknown to Wotton and Bacon; but there is something else of Mr. John's devising** which deserves attention from an Instaurator of Philosophy:

"He hath a little black Tent (of what stuff is not much importing)," says the Ambassador, "which he can suddenly set-up where he will, in a Field; and it is convertible (like a windmill) to all quarters at pleasure; capable of not much more than one man, as I conceive, and perhaps at no great ease; exactly close and dark, — save at one hole, about an inch and a half in the diameter, to which he applies a long perspective Trunk, with the convex glass fitted to the said hole, and the concave taken out at the other end, which extendeth to about the middle of this erected Tent: through which the visible radiations of all the Objects without are intromitted, falling upon a Paper, which is accommodated to receive them; and so he traceth them with his pen in their natural appearance; turning his little Tent round by degrees, till he hath designed the whole Aspect of the Field."*** — In fact he hath a *Camera Obscura*, and is exhibiting the same for the delectation of Imperial gentlemen lounging that way. Mr. John invents such toys, writes almanacks, practises

* *De Motibus Stellæ Martis*; Prag, 1609.

** It seems, Baptista Porta (of Naples, dead some years before) must have given him the essential hint, — of whom, or whose hint, Mr. John does not happen to inform his Excellency at present.

*** *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ* (London, 1672), p. 300.

medicine, for good reasons; his encouragement from the Holy Roman Empire and mankind being only a pension of 18*l.* a-year, and that hardly ever paid. An ingenious person, truly, if there ever was one among Adam's Posterity. Just turned of fifty, and ill-off for cash. This glimpse of him, in his little black tent with perspective glasses, while the Thirty-Years War blazes out, is welcome as a date.

*What became of the Cleve-Jülich Heritage, and of the
Preussen one.*

In the Cleve-Duchies, joint government had now become more difficult than ever: but it had to be persisted in, — under mutual offences, suspicions and outbreaks hardly repressed; — no final Bargain of Settlement proving by any method possible. Treaties enough, and conferences and pleadings, manifestoings: — Could not some painful German collector of Statistics try to give us the approximate quantity of impracticable treaties, futile conferences, manifestoes, correspondences; in brief, some authentional cipher (say, in round millions) of idle Words spoken by official human creatures, and approximately (in square miles) the extent of Law-Stationery and other Paper written, first and last, about this Controversy of the Cleve-Duchies? In that form it might have a momentary interest.

When the Winter-King's explosion took place,* and his own unfortunate Pfalz (Palatinate) became the theatre of war (Tilly, Spinola, *versus* Pfalzers, English,

* Crowned at Prag, 4th November n. s. 1619; beaten to ruin there, and obliged to gallop (almost before dinner done), Sunday, 8th November 1620,

Dutch), involving all the neighbouring regions, Cleve-Jülich did not escape its fate. The Spaniards and the Dutch, who had long sat in gloomy armed-truce, occupying with obstinate precaution the main Fortresses of these Jülich-Cleve countries, did now straightway, their Twelve-Years truce being out (1621),* fall to fighting and besieging one another there; the huge War, which proved of Thirty Years, being now all ablaze. What the country suffered in the interim may be imagined.

In 1624, in pity to all parties, some attempt at practical Division of the Territory was again made; Neuburg to have Berg and Jülich, Brandenburg to have Cleve, Mark, Ravensberg and the minor appurtenances: and Treaty to that effect was got signed (11th May 1624). But it was not well kept, nor could be; and the statistic cipher of new treaties, manifestoes, conferences, and approximate written area of Law-Paper, goes on increasing.

It was not till forty-two years after, in 1666, as will be more minutely noticeable by and by, that an effective partition could be practically brought about. Nor in this state was the Lawsuit by any means ended, — as we shall wearisomely see, in times long following that. In fact there never was, in the German Chanceries or out of them, such a Lawsuit, Armed or Wigged, as this of the Cleve-Duchies first and last. And the sentence was not practically given, till the Congress of Vienna (1815) in our own day gave it;

* Pauli, vi. 578-580,

and the thing Johann Sigismund had claimed legally in 1609 was actually handed-over to Johann Sigismund's Descendant in the seventh generation, after two-hundred and six years. Handed-over to him then, — and a liberal rate of interest allowed. These litigated Duchies are now the Prussian Province Jülich-Berg-Cleve, and the nucleus of Prussia's possessions in the Rhine country.

A year before Johann Sigismund's death, Albert Friedrich, the poor eclipsed Duke of Prussia, died (8th August 1618): upon which our swift Kurfürst, not without need of his dexterities there too, got peaceable possession of Prussia; — nor has his Family lost hold of that, up to the present time. Next year (23d December 1619), he himself closed a swift busy life (labour enough in it for him perhaps, though only an age of forty-nine); and sank to his long rest, his works following him, — unalterable thenceforth, not unfruitful some of them.

CHAPTER XV.

TENTH KURFÜRST GEORGE WILHELM.

By far the unluckiest of these Electors, whether the most unworthy of them or not, was George Wilhelm, Tenth Elector, who now succeeded Johann Sigismund his Father. The Father's eyes had closed when this great flame was breaking out; and the Son's days were all spent amid the hot ashes and fierce blazings of it.

The position of Brandenburg during this sad Thirty-Years War was passive rather than active; distinguished only in the former way, and as far as possible from being glorious or victorious. Never since the Hohenzollerns came to that Country, had Brandenburg such a time. Difficult to have mended it; impossible to have quite avoided it; — and Kurfürst George Wilhelm was not a man so superior to all his neighbours, that he could clearly see his way in such an element. The perfect or ideal course was clear: To have frankly drawn sword for his Religion and his Rights, so soon as the battle fairly opened; and to have fought for these same, till he either got them or died. Alas, that is easily said and written; but it is, for a George Wilhelm especially, difficult to do! His capability in all kinds was limited; his connexions, with this side and that, were very intricate. Gustavus and the Winter-King were his Brothers-in-law; Gustavus wedded to

his Sister, he to Winter-King's. His relations to Poland, feudal superior of Preussen, were delicate; and Gustavus was in deadly quarrel with Poland. And then Gustavus's sudden laying-hold of Pommern, which had just espaced from Wallenstein and the Kaiser? It must be granted, poor George Wilhelm's case demanded circumspectness.

One can forgive him for declining the Bohemian-King speculation, though his Uncle of Jägerndorf, and his Cousins of Liegnitz were so hearty and forward in it. Pardonable in him to decline the Bohemian speculation; — though surely it is very sad that he found himself so short of "butter and wood" when the poor ex-King, and his young Wife, then in a specially-interesting state, came to take shelter with him! * But when Gustavus landed, and flung-out upon the winds such a banner as that of his, — truly it was required of a Protestant Governor of men to be able to read said banner in a certain degree. A Governor, not too imperfect, would have recognised this Gustavus, what his purposes and likelihoods were; the feeling would have been, checked by due circumspectness: "Up, my men, let us follow this man; let us live and die in the Cause this man goes for! Live otherwise with honour, or die otherwise with honour, we cannot, in the pass things have come to!" — And thus, at the very worst,

* Sölltl (*Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, — a trivial modern Book) gives a notable Memorial from the Brandenburg *Raths*, concerning these their difficulties of housekeeping. Their real object, we perceive, was to get rid of a Guest so dangerous as the Ex-King, under Ban of the Empire, had now become,

Brandenburg would have had only one class of enemies to ravage it; and might have escaped with, arithmetically speaking, *half* the harrying it got in that long Business.

But Protestant Germany, — sad shame to it, which proved lasting sorrow as well, — was all alike torpid; Brandenburg not an exceptional case. No Prince stood up as beseeemed: or only one, and he not a great one; Landgraf Wilhelm of Hessen, who, and his brave Widow after him, seemed always to know what hour it was. Wilhelm of Hessen all along; — and a few wild hands, Christian of Brunswick, Christian of Anhalt, Johann George of Jägerndorf, who stormed-out tumultuously at first, but were soon blown away by the Tilly-Wallenstein *trade-winds* and regulated armaments: — the rest sat still, and tried all they could to keep out of harm's way. The "Evangelical Union" did a great deal of manifesting, pathetic, indignant and other; held solemn Meetings at Heilbronn, old Sir Henry Wotton going as Ambassador to them; but never got any redress. Had the Evangelical Union shut-up its inkhorns sooner; girt-on its fighting-tools when the time came, and done some little execution with them then, instead of none at all, — we may fancy the Evangelical Union would have better discharged its function. It might have saved immense wretchedness to Germany. But its course went not that way.

In fact, had there been no better Protestantism than that of Germany, all was over with Protestantism; and Max of Bavaria, with fanatical Ferdinand II. as Kaiser

over him, and Father Lämmerlein at his right hand and Father Hyacinth at his left, had got their own sweet way in this world. But Protestant Germany was not Protestant Europe, after all. Over seas, there dwelt and reigned a certain King in Sweden; there farmed, and walked musing by the shores of the Ouse in Huntingdonshire, a certain man: — there was a Gustav Adolf over seas, an Oliver Cromwell over seas; and “a company of poor men” were found capable of taking Lucifer by the beard, — who accordingly, with his Lämmerleins, Hyacinths, Habernfeldts and others, was forced to withdraw, after a tough struggle! —

CHAPTER XVI.

THIRTY-YEARS WAR.

THE enormous Thirty-Years War, most intricate of modern Occurrences in the domain of Dryasdust, divides itself, after some unravelling, into Three principal Acts or Epochs, in all of which, one after the other, our Kurfürst had an interest mounting progressively, but continuing to be a passive interest.

Act *First* goes from 1620 to 1624; and might be entitled "The Bohemian King Made and Demolished." Personally the Bohemian King was soon demolished. His Kingship may be said to have gone-off by explosion; by one Fight, namely, done on the Weissenberg near Prag (Sunday, 8th November 1620), while he sat at dinner in the City, the boom of the cannon coming-in with interest upon high guests and him. He had to run, in hot haste, that night, leaving many of his important papers, — and becomes a Winter-King. Winter-King's account was soon settled. But the extirpating of his Adherents, and capturing of his Hereditary Lands, Palatinate and Upper-Palatinate, took three years more. Hard fighting for the Palatinate; Tilly and Company against the "Evangelical-Union Troops, "and the English under Sir Horace Vere." Evangelical-Union Troops, though marching about there, under an Uncle of our Kurfürst (Margraf Joachim Ernst, that

lucky Anspach Uncle, founder of "the Line"), who professed some skill in soldiering, were a mere Picture of an Army; would only "observe," and would not fight at all. So that the whole fighting fell to Sir Horace and his poor handful of English; of whose grim posture "in Frankendale"* and other Strongholds, for months long, there is talk enough in the old English History-Books.

Then there were certain stern War-Captains, who rallied from the Weissenberg Defeat: — Christian of Brunswick, the chief of them, titular Bishop of Halberstadt, a high-flown, fiery young fellow, of terrible fighting gifts; he flamed-up considerably, with "the Queen of Bohemia's glove stuck in his Hat:" "Bright Lady, it shall stick there, till I get you your own again, or die!"** Christian of Brunswick, George of Jägerndorf (our Kurfürst's Uncle), Count Mansfeldt and others, made stormy fight once and again, hanging upon this central "Frankendale" Business, till they and it became hopeless. For the Kaiser and his Jesuits were not in doubt; a Kaiser very proud, unscrupulous; now clearly superior in force, — and all along of great superiority in fraud.

Christian of Brunswick, Johann George and Mans-

* Frankenthal, a little Town in the Palatinate, N. W. from Mannheim a short way.

** 1621-1623, age not yet twenty-five; died (by poison), 1626, having again become supremely important just then. "*Gottes Freund, der Pfaffen Feind* (God's Friend, Priests' Foe);" "*Alles für Ruhm und Ihr* (All for Glory and Her," — the bright Elizabeth, become Ex-Queen), were mottoes of his. — *Buddäus in voce* (l. 649); *Michaëlis*, l. 110.

feldt were got rid of: Christian by poison; Johann George and Mansfeldt by other methods, — chiefly by playing-upon poor King James of England, and leading him by the long nose he was found to have. The Palatinate became the Kaiser's for the time being; Upper Palatinate (*Ober Pfalz*) Duke Max of Bavaria, lying contiguous to it, had easily taken. "Incorporate the Ober-Pfalz with your Bavaria," said the Kaiser; "you, illustrious, thrice-serviceable Max! And let Lämmerlein and Hyacinth, with their Gospel of Ignatius, loose upon it. Nay, as a still richer reward, be yours the forfeited *Kur* (Electorship) of this mad Kur-Pfalz, or Winter-King. I will hold his Rhine-Lands, his *Unter-Pfalz*: his Electorship and *Ober-Pfalz*, I say, are yours, Duke, henceforth *Kurfürst Maximilian!*"* Which was a hard saying in the ears of Brandenburg, Saxony and the other Five, and of the Reich in general; but they had all to comply, after wincing. For the Kaiser proceeded with a high hand. He had put the Ex-King under Ban of the Empire (never asking "the Empire" about it); put his Three principal Adherents, Johann George of Jägerndorf one of them, Prince Christian of Anhalt (once captain at the Siege of Juliers) another, likewise under Ban of the Empire;** and in short had flung about, and was flinging, his thunderbolts in a very Olympian manner. Under all which, what could Brandenburg and the others do; but whimper some trembling protest, "Clear against Law!" — and

* Köhler: *Reichs-Historie*, p. 520.** 22d January 1621 (*Ibid.* p. 518)

sit obedient? The Evangelical Union did not now any more than formerly draw-out its fighting-tools. In fact, the Evangelical Union now fairly dissolved itself; melted into a deliquium of terror under these thunderbolts that were flying, and was no more heard-of in the world. —

Second Act, or Epoch, 1624-1629. A second Uncle put to the Ban, and Pommern snatched away.

Except in the "Nether-Saxon Circle" (distant North-west region, with its Hanover, Mecklenburg, with its rich Hamburgs, Lübecks, Magdeburgs, all Protestant, and abutting on the Protestant North), trembling Germany lay ridden-over as the Kaiser willed. Foreign League got-up by France, King James, Christian IV. of Denmark (James's Brother-in-law, with whom he had such "drinking" in Somerset House, long ago, on Christian's visit hither*), went to water, or worse. Only the "Nether Saxon Circle" showed some life; was levying an Army; and had appointed Christian of Brunswick its Captain, till he was got poisoned; — upon which the drinking King of Denmark took the command.

Act *Second* goes from 1624 to 1627 or even '29; and contains Drunken Christian's Exploits. Which were unfortunate, almost to the ruin of Denmark itself, as well as of the Nether-Saxon Circle; — till in the latter of these years he slightly rallied, and got a supportable Peace granted him (Peace of Lübeck, 1629); after

* Old Histories of James I. (Willson, &c.)

which he sits quiet, contemplative, with an evil eye upon Sweden now and then. The beatings he got, in quite regular succession, from Tilly and Consorts, are not worth mentioning: the only thing one now remembers of him is his alarming accident on the ramparts of Hameln, just at the opening of these Campaigns. At Hameln, which was to be a strong post, drunken Christian rode-out once, on a summer afternoon (1624), to see that the ramparts were all right, or getting all right; — and tumbled, horse and self (self in liquor, it is thought), in an ominous alarming manner. Taken up for dead; — nay some of the vague Histories seem to think he was really dead: — but he lived to be often beaten after that, and had many moist years more.

Our Kurfürst had another Uncle put to the Ban in this Second Act, — Christian Wilhelm Archbishop of Magdeburg, “for assisting the Danish King;” nor was Ban all the ruin that fell on this poor Archbishop. What could an unfortunate Kurfürst do, but tremble and obey? There was still a worse smart got by our poor Kurfürst out of Act Second: the glaring injustice done him in Pommern.

Does the reader remember that scene in the High Church of Stettin a Hundred-and-fifty years ago? How the Bürgermeister threw sword and helmet into the grave of the last Duke of Pommern-Stettin there; and a forward Citizen picked them out again in favour of a Collateral Branch? Never since, any more than then, could Brandenburg get Pommern according to claim.

Collateral Branch, in spite of Friedrich Iron-teeth, in spite even of Albert Achilles and some fighting of his, contrived, by pleading at the Diets and stirring-up noise, to maintain its pretensions: and Treaties without end ensued, as usual; Treaties refreshed and new-signed by every Successor of Albert, to a wearisome degree. The sum of which always was: "Pommern does actual Homage to Brandenburg; vassal of Brandenburg; — and falls home to it, if the now Extant Line go extinct." Nay there is an *Erbverbrüderung* (Heritage-Fraternity) over and above, established this long time, and wearisomely renewed at every new Accession. Hundreds of Treaties, oppressive to think of: — and now the last Duke, old Bogislaus, is here, without hope of children; and the fruit of all that haggling, actual Pommern to wit, will at last fall home? Alas, no; far otherwise.

For the Kaiser having so triumphantly swept-off the Winter-King, and Christian IV. in the rear of him, and got Germany ready for converting to Orthodoxy, — wished now to have some hold of the Seaboard, thereby to punish Denmark; nay thereby, as is hoped, to extend the blessings of Orthodoxy into England, Sweden, Holland, and the other Heretic States, in due time. For our plans go far! This is the Kaiser's fixed wish, rising to the rank of hope now and then: all Europe shall become Papist again, by the help of God *and* the Devil. So the Kaiser, on hardly any pretext, seized Mecklenburg from the Proprietors, — "Traitors, how durst you join Danish Christian?" — and made Wallenstein Duke of it. Duke of Mecklenburg, "Admiral of the *East-Sea*

(Baltic);” and set to “building ships of war in Rostock,” — his plans going far.* This done, he seized Pommern, which also is a fine Sea-country, — stirring-up Max of Bavaria to make some idle pretence to Pommern, that so the Kaiser might seize it “in sequestration till decided on.” Under which hard treatment, George Wilhelm had to sit sad and silent, — though the Stralsunders would not. Hence the world-famous Siege of Stralsund (1628); fierce Wallenstein declaring, “I will have the Town, if it hung by a chain from Heaven;” but finding he could not get it; owing to the Swedish succour, to the stubborn temper prevalent among the Townsfolk, and also greatly to the rains and peat-bogs.

A second Uncle of George Wilhelm’s, the unlucky Archbishop of Magdeburg, the Kaiser, once more by his own arbitrary will, put under Ban of the Empire, in this Second Act: “Traitor, how durst you join with the Danes?” The result of which was Tilly’s Sack of Magdeburg (10-12th May 1631), a transaction never forgetable by mankind. — As for Pommern, Gustav Adolf, on his intervening in these matters, landed there: Pommern was now seized by Gustav Adolf, as a landing-place and place-of-arms, indispensable for Sweden in the present emergency; and was so held thenceforth. Pommern will not fall to George Wilhelm at this time.

Third Act, and what the Kurfürst suffered in it.

And now we are at Act *Third*: — Landing of Gustav Adolf “in the Isle of Usedom, 24th June 1630,”

* Köhler: *Reichs-Historie*, pp. 524, 525.

and onward for Eighteen Years till the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648; — on which, as probably better known to the reader, we will not here go into details. In this Third Act too, George Wilhelm followed his old scheme, peace at any price; — as shy of Gustav as he had been of other Champions of the Cause; and except complaining, petitioning and manifestoing, studiously did nothing.

Poor man, it was his fate to stand in the range of these huge collisions, — Bridge of Dessau, Siege of Stralsund, Sack of Magdeburg, Battle of Leipzig, — where the Titans were bowling rocks at one another; and he hoped, by dextrous skipping, to escape share of the game. To keep well with his Kaiser, — and such a Kaiser to Germany and to him, — this, for George Wilhelm, was always the first commandment. If the Kaiser confiscate your Uncles, against law; seize your Pommern; rob you on the public highways, — George Wilhelm, even in such case, is full of dubitations. Nay his Prime-Minister, one Schwarzenberg, a Catholic, an Austrian Official at one time, — Progenitor of the Austrian Schwarzenbergs that now are, — was secretly in the Kaiser's interest, and is even thought to have been in the Kaiser's pay, all along.

Gustav, at his first landing, had seized Pommern, and swept it clear of Austrians, for himself and for his own wants; not too regardful of George Wilhelm's claims on it. He cleared-out Frankfurt, Cüstrin and other Brandenburg Towns, in a similar manner, — by cannon and storm, when needful; — drove the Im-

perialists and Tilly forth of these countries. Advancing, next year, to save Magdeburg, now shrieking under Tilly's bombardment, Gustav insisted on having, if not some bond of union from his Brother-in-law of Brandenburg, at least the temporary cession of two Places of War for himself, Spandau and Cüstrin, indispensable in any farther operation. Which cession Kurfürst George Wilhelm, though giving all his prayers to the Good Cause, could by no means grant. Gustav had to insist, with more and more emphasis; advancing at last, with military menace, upon Berlin itself. He was met by George Wilhelm and his Council, "in the woods of Cöpenick," short way to the east of that City: there George Wilhelm and his Council wandered about, sending messages, hopelessly consulting; saying among each other, "*Que faire; ils ont des canons*, What can one do; they have got cannon?"* For many hours so; round the inflexible Gustav, — who was there like a fixed milestone, and to all questions and comers had only one answer! — "*Que faire; ils ont des canons?*" This was 3d May 1631. This probably is about the nadir-point of the Brandenburg-Hohenzollern History. The little Frederick who became Frederick the Great, in writing of it, has a certain grim banter in his tone; and looks rather with mockery on the perplexities of his poor Ancestor, so fatally ignorant of the time of day it had now become.

* *Œuvres de Frédéric le Grand* (Berlin, 1846-1856 et seqq.: *Mémoires de Brandebourg*), i. 38. For the rest, Frederick's Account of the Transaction is very loose and scanty: see Paull (iv. 568) and his minute details.

On the whole, George Wilhelm did what is to be called nothing, in the Thirty-Years War; his function was only that of suffering. He followed always the bad lead of Johann George, Elector of Saxony; a man of no strength, devoutness or adequate human worth; who proved, on these negative grounds, and without fragrance of positive badness, an unspeakable curse to Germany. Not till the Kaiser fulminated-forth his Restitution-Edict, and showed he was in earnest about it (1629—1631), "Restore to our Holy Church what you have taken from her since the Peace of Passau!" — could this Johann George prevail upon himself to join Sweden, or even to do other than hate it for reasons he saw. Seized by the throat in this manner, and ordered to *deliver*, Kur-Sachsen did, and Brandenburg along with him, make Treaty with the Swede.* In consequence of which they two, some months after, by way of coöperating with Gustav on his great march Vienna-ward, sent an invading force into Bohemia, Brandenburg contributing some poor 3000 to it; who took Prag, and some other open Towns; but "did almost nothing there," say the Histories, "except dine and drink." It is clear enough they were instantly scattered home** at the first glimpse of Wallenstein dawning on the horizon again in those parts.

Gustav having vanished (Field of Lützen, 6th November 1632***), Oxenstiern, with his high attitude, and

* 8th February 1631 (Köhler: *Reiche-Historie*, pp. 526-531).

** October 1633 (Stenzel, i. 503).

*** Pauli, iv. 576.

"Presidency" of the "Union at Heilbronn," was rather an offence to Kur-Sachsen, who used to be foremost man on such occasions. Kur-Sachsen broke away again; made his Peace of Prag,* whom Brandenburg again followed; Brandenburg and gradually all the others, except the noble Wilhelm of Hessen-Cassel alone. Miserable Peace; bit of Chaos clouted-up, and done-over with Official varnish; — which proved to be the signal for continuing the War beyond visible limits, and rendering peace impossible.

After this, George Wilhelm retires from the scene; lives in Cüstrin mainly; mere miserable days, which shall be invisible to us. He died in 1640; and, except producing an active brave Son very unlike himself, did nothing considerable in the world. "*Que faire; ils ont des canons!*"

Among the innumerable sanguinary tussellings of this War are counted Three great Battles, Leipzig, Lützen, Nördlingen. Under one great Captain, Swedish Gustav, and the two or three other considerable Captains, who appeared in it, high passages of furious valour, of fine strategy and tactic, are on record. But on the whole, the grand weapon in it, and towards the latter times the exclusive one, was Hunger. The opposing Armies tried to starve one another; at lowest, tried each not to starve. Each trying to eat the country, or at any rate to leave nothing eatable in it: what that will mean for the country, we may consider.

* 1635, 20th May (Stenzel, i. 513).

As the Armies too frequently, and the Kaiser's Armies habitually, lived without commissariat, often enough without pay, all horrors of war and of being a seat of war, that have been since heard of, are poor to those then practised. The detail of which is still horrible to read. Germany, in all eatable quarters of it, had to undergo the process; — tortured, torn to pieces, wrecked, and brayed as in a mortar under the iron mace of war.* Brandenburg saw its towns sieged and sacked, its country-populations driven to despair, by the one party and the other. Three times, — first in the Wallenstein-Mecklenburg times, while fire and sword were the weapons, and again, twice over, in the ultimate stages of the struggle, when starvation had become the method, — Brandenburg fell to be the principal theatre of conflict, where all forms of the dismal were at their height. In 1638, three years after that precious "Peace of Prag," the Swedes (Banier *versus* Gallas) starving-out the Imperialists in those North-Western parts, the ravages of the starving Gallas and his Imperialists excelled all precedent; and the "famine about Tanger-münde had risen so high that men ate human flesh, "nay human creatures ate their own children."** "*Que faire; ils ont des canons!*"

* Curious incidental details of the state it was reduced to, in the Rhine and Danube Countries, turn-up in the Earl of Arundel and Surrey's *Travels* ("Arundel of the Marbles") as *Ambassador Extraordinary to the Emperor Ferdinando II. in 1636* (a small Volume, or Pamphlet, London, 1637).

** 1638: Pauli, iv. 604.

CHAPTER XVII.

DUCHY OF JÄGERNDORF.

THIS unfortunate George Wilhelm failed in getting Pommern when due; Pommern, firmly held by the Swedes, was far from him. But that was not the only loss of territory he had. Jägerndorf, — we have heard of Johann George of Jägerndorf, Uncle of this George Wilhelm, how old Joachim Friedrich put him into Jägerndorf, long since, when it fell home to the Electoral House. Jägerndorf is now lost; Johann George is under *Reichs-Acht* (Ban of Empire), ever since the Winter-King's explosion, and the thunderbolts that followed; and wanders landless; — nay he is long since dead, and has six-feet of earth for a territory, far away in Transylvania, or the *Riesen-Gebirge* (Giant-Mountains) somewhere. Concerning whom a word now.

Duke of Jägerndorf, Elector's Uncle, is put under Ban.

Johann George, a frank-hearted valiant man, concerning whom only good actions, and no bad one, are on record, had notable troubles in the world; bad troubles to begin with, and worse to end in. He was second Son of Kurfürst Joachim Friedrich, who had meant him for the Church.* The young fellow was

* 1577-1624; Rentsch, p. 486.

Coadjutor of Strasburg, almost from the time of getting into short-clothes. He was then, still very young, elected Bishop there (1592); Bishop of Strasburg, — but only by the Protestant part of the Canons; the Catholic part, unable to submit longer, and thinking it a good time for revolt against a Protestant population and obstinately heterodox majority, elected another Bishop; one "Karl of the House of Lorraine;" and there came to be dispute, and came even to be fighting needed. Fighting; which prudent Papa would not enter into, except faintly at secondhand, through the Anspach Cousins, or others that were in the humour. Troublesome times for the young man; which lasted a dozen years or more. At last a Bargain was made (1604); Protestant and Catholic Canons splitting the difference in some way; and the House of Lorraine paying Johann George a great deal of money to go home again.* Poor Johann George came out of it in that way; *not* second best, think several.

He was then (1606) put into Jägerndorf, which had just fallen vacant; our excellent fat friend, George Friedrich of Anspach, Administrator of Preussen, having lately died, and left it vacant, as we saw. George Friedrich's death yielded fine apanages, three of them in all: *first* Anspach, *second* Baireuth, and this *third* of Jägerndorf for a still younger Brother. There was still a fourth younger Brother, Uncle of George Wilhelm; Archbishop of Magdeburg this one; who also, as we

* *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, 97 vols. (Paris, 1825-32), xxxiii. 284. — Köhler (*Reichs-Historie*, p. 487) gives the authentic particulars.

have seen, got into *Reichs-Acht*, into deep trouble in the Thirty-Years War. He was in Tilly's thrice-murderous Storm of Magdeburg (10th May 1631); was captured, tumbled about by the wild soldiery, and nearly killed there. Poor man, with his mitre and rochets left in such a state! In the end he even became *Catholic*, — from conviction, as was evident, and bewilderment of mind; — and lived in Austria on a pension; occasionally publishing polemical pamphlets.* —

As to Johann George, he much repaired and beautified the Castle of Jägerndorf, says Rentsch: but he unfortunately went ahead into the Winter-King's adventure; which, in that sad Battle of the Weissenberg, made total shipwreck of itself, drawing Johann George and much else along with it. Johann George was straightway tyrannously put to the Ban, forfeited of life and lands:** Johann George disowned the said Ban; stood-out fiercely for self and Winter-King; and did good fighting in the Silesian strongholds and mountain-passes: but was forced to seek temporary shelter in *Siebenbürgen* (Transylvania); and died far away, in a year or two (1524), while returning to try it again. Sleeps, I think, in the "Jablunka Pass;" the dumb Giant-Mountains (*Riesen-Gebirge*) shrouding-up his sad shipwreck and him.

Jägerndorf was thus seized by Ferdinand II. of the

* 1587; 1628; 1665 (Rentsch, pp. 905-910).

** 22d January 1631 (Köhler, *Reichs-Historie*, p. 518; and rectify Hübner, tab. 178),

House of Hapsburg; and though it was contrary to all law that the Kaiser should keep it, — poor Johann George having left Sons very innocent of treason, and Brothers, and an Electoral Nephew, very innocent; to whom, by old compacts and new, the Heritage in defect of him was to fall, — neither Kaiser Ferdinand II. nor Kaiser Ferdinand III., nor any Kaiser would let-go the hold; but kept Jägerndorf fast clenched, deaf to all pleadings, and monitions of gods or men. Till at length, in the fourth generation afterwards, one “Friedrich the Second,” not unknown to us, — a sharp little man, little in stature, but large in faculty and renown, who is now called “Frederick the Great,” — clutched hold of the Imperial fist (so to speak), seizing his opportunity in 1740; and so wrenched and twisted said close fist, that not only Jägerndorf dropped out of it, but the whole of Silesia along with Jägerndorf, there being other claims withal. And the account *was* at last settled, with compound interest, — as in fact such accounts are sure to be, one way or other. And so we leave Johann George among the dumb Giant-Mountains again.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FRIEDRICH WILHELM, THE GREAT KURFÜRST, ELEVENTH OF THE SERIES.

BRANDENBURG had again sunk very low under the Tenth Elector, in the unutterable troubles of the times. But it was gloriously raised-up again by his Son Friedrich Wilhelm, who succeeded in 1640. This is he whom they call the "Great Elector (*Grosse Kurfürst*);" of whom there is much writing and celebrating in Prussian Books. As for the epithet, it is not uncommon among petty German populations, and many times does not mean too much: thus Max of Bavaria, with his Jesuit Lambkins and Hyacinths, is, by Bavarians, called "Maximilian the Great." Friedrich Wilhelm, both by his intrinsic qualities and the success he met with, deserves it better than most. His success, if we look where he started and where he ended, was beyond that of any other man in his day. He found Brandenburg annihilated, and he left Brandenburg sound and flourishing; a great country, or already on the way towards greatness. Undoubtedly a most rapid, clear-eyed, active man. There was a stroke in him swift as lightning, well aimed mostly, and of a respectable weight withal; which shattered asunder a whole world of impediments for him, by assiduous repetition of it for fifty years.*

• 1620; 1640; 1688

There hardly ever came to sovereign power a young man of twenty under more distressing, hopeless-looking circumstances. Political significance Brandenburg had none: a mere Protestant appendage dragged about by a Papist Kaiser. His Father's Prime-Minister, as we have seen, was in the interest of his enemies; not Brandenburg's servant, but Austria's. The very Commandants of his Fortresses, Commandant of Spandau more especially, refused to obey Friedrich Wilhelm, on his accession; "were bound to obey the Kaiser in the first place." He had to proceed softly as well as swiftly; with the most delicate hand to get him of Spandau by the collar, and put him under lock-and-key, him as a warning to others.

For twenty years past, Brandenburg had been scoured by hostile armies, which, especially the Kaiser's part of which, committed outrages new in human history. In a year or two hence, Brandenburg became again the theatre of business; Austrian Gallas advancing thither again (1644), with intent "to shut-up Torstenson and his Swedes in Jutland," where they had been chastising old Christian IV., now meddlesome again for the last time, and never a good neighbour to Sweden. Gallas could by no means do what he intended; on the contrary, he had to run from Torstenson, what feet could do; was hunted, he and his *Merode-Brüder* (beautiful inventors of the "Marauding" Art), "till they pretty much all died (*crepirten*)," says Köhler.* No great loss to society, the death of these Ar-

* *Reichs-Historie*, p. 556; Paull, v. 24.

tists; but we can fancy what their life, and especially what the process of their dying, may have cost poor Brandenburg again! —

Friedrich Wilhelm's aim, in this as in other emergencies, was sun-clear to himself, but for most part dim to everybody else. He had to walk very warily, Sweden on one hand of him, suspicious Kaiser on the other; he had to wear semblances, to be ready with evasive words; and advance noiselessly by many circuits. More delicate operation could not be imagined. But advance he did; advance and arrive. With extraordinary talent, diligence and felicity the young man wound himself out of this first fatal position; got those foreign Armies pushed-out of his Country, and kept them out. His first concern had been to find some vestige of revenue, to put that upon a clear footing; and by loans or otherwise to scrape a little ready-money together. On the strength of which a small body of soldiers could be collected about him, and drilled into real ability to fight and obey. This as a basis; on this followed all manner of things; freedom from Swedish-Austrian invasions, as the first thing.

He was himself, as appeared by and by, a fighter of the first quality, when it came to that; but never was willing to fight, if he could help it. Preferred rather to shift, manœuvre and negotiate; which he did in a most vigilant, adroit and masterly manner. But by degrees he had grown to have, and could maintain it, an Army of 24,000 men; among the best troops

then in being. With or without his will, he was in all the great Wars of his time, — the time of Louis XIV., who kindled Europe four times over, thrice in our Kurfürst's day. The Kurfürst's Dominions, a long straggling country, reaching from Memel to Wesel, could hardly keep out of the way of any war that might rise. He made himself available, never against the good cause of Protestantism and German Freedom, yet always in the place and way where his own best advantage was to be had. Louis XIV. had often much need of him; still oftener, and more pressingly, had Kaiser Leopold, the little Gentleman "in scarlet stockings, with a red feather in his hat," whom Mr. Savage used to see majestically walking about, with Austrian lip that said nothing at all.* His 24,000 excellent fighting-men, thrown-in at the right time, were often a thing that could turn the balance in great questions. They required to be allowed-for at a high rate, — which he well knew how to adjust himself for exacting and securing always.

* *A Compleat History of Germany*, by Mr. Savage (8vo, London, 1702), p. 558. Who this Mr. Savage was, we have no trace. Prefixed to the volume is the Portrait of a solid Gentleman of forty; gloomily polite, with ample wig and cravat, — in all likelihood some studious subaltern Diplomatist in the Succession War. His little Book is very lean and barren; but faithfully compiled, — and might have some illumination in it, where utter darkness is so prevalent. Most likely, Addison picked his story of the *Siege of Weinsberg* ("Women carrying out their Husbands on their back," — one of his best *Spectators*) out of this poor Book.

*What became of Pommern at the Peace; final glance into
Cleve-Jülich.*

When the Peace of Westphalia (1648) concluded that Thirty-Years Conflagration, and swept the ashes of it into order again, Friedrich Wilhelm's right to Pommern was admitted by everybody; and well insisted on by himself: but right had to yield to reason of state, and he could not get it. The Swedes insisted on their expenses; the Swedes held Pommern, had all along held it, — in pawn, they said, for their expenses. Nothing for it but to give the Swedes the better half of Pommern. *Fore-Pommern* (so they call it, "Swedish Pomerania" thenceforth), which lies next the Sea; this, with some Towns and cuttings over and above, was Sweden's share: Friedrich Wilhelm had to put-up with *Hinder-Pommern*, docked furthermore of the Town of Stettin, and of other valuable cuttings, in favour of Sweden. Much to Friedrich Wilhelm's grief and just anger, could he have helped it.

They gave him Three secularised Bishoprics, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Minden with other small remnants, for compensation; and he had to be content with these for the present. But he never gave-up the idea of Pommern; much of the effort of his life was spent upon recovering *Fore-Pommern*; thrice-eager upon that, whenever lawful opportunity offered. To no purpose then; he never could recover Swedish Pommern; only his late descendants, and that by slowish degrees, could recover it all. Readers remember that *Bürgermeister*

of Stettin, with the helmet and sword flung into the grave and picked out again; — and can judge whether Brandenburg got its good-luck quite by lying in bed! —

Once, and once only, he had a voluntary purpose towards War, and it remained a purpose only. Soon after the Peace of Westphalia, old Pfalz-Neuburg, the same who got the slap on the face, went into tyrannous proceedings against the Protestant part of his subjects in Jülich-Cleve; who called to Friedrich Wilhelm for help. Friedrich Wilhelm, a zealous Protestant, made remonstrances, retaliations: ere long the thought struck him, "Suppose, backed by the Dutch, we threw-out this fantastic old gentleman, his Papistries, and pretended claims and self, clear out of it?" This was Friedrich Wilhelm's thought; and he suddenly marched troops into the Territory, with that view. But Europe was in alarm, the Dutch grew faint: Friedrich Wilhelm saw it would not do. He had a conference with old Pfalz-Neuburg: "Young gentleman, we remember how your Grandfather made free with us, and our august countenance! Nevertheless we —" In fine, the "statistic of Treaties" was increased by One; and there the matter rested till calmer times.

In 1666, as already said, an effective Partition of these litigated Territories was accomplished: Prussia to have the Duchy of Cleve-Propser, the Counties of Mark and Ravensberg, with other Patches and Pertinents; Neuburg, what was the better share, to have Jülich

Duchy and Berg Duchy. Furthermore, if either of the Lines failed, in no sort was a collateral to be admitted; but Brandenburg was to inherit Neuburg, or Neuburg Brandenburg, as the case might be.* A clear Bargain this at last; and in the times that had come, it proved executable so far. But if the reader fancies the Lawsuit was at last out in this way, he will be a simple reader! In the days of our little Fritz, the Line of Pfalz-Neuburg was evidently ending: but that Brandenburg and not a collateral should succeed it, there lay the quarrel, — open still, as if it had never been shut; and we shall hear enough about it! —

*The Great Kurfürst's Wars: what he achieved in War
and Peace.*

Friedrich Wilhelm's first actual appearance in War, Polish-Swedish War (1655-1660), was involuntary in the highest degree; forced upon him for the sake of his Preussen, which bade fair to be lost or ruined, without blame of his or its. Nevertheless, here too, he made his benefit of the affair. The big King of Sweden had a standing quarrel with his big cousin of Poland, which broke-out into hot War; little Preussen lay between them, and was like to be crushed in the collision. Swedish King was Karl Gustav, Christina's Cousin, Charles Twelfth's Grandfather; a great and mighty man, lion of the North in his time: Polish

* Pauli, v. 120-129.

King was one John Casimir; chivalrous enough, and with clouds of forward Polish chivalry about him, glittering with barbaric gold. Frederick III., Danish King for the time being, he also was much involved in the thing. Fain would Friedrich Wilhelm have kept out of it, but he could not. Karl Gustav as good as forced him to join: he joined; fought along with Karl Gustav an illustrious Battle; "Battle of Warsaw," three days long (28-30th July 1656), on the skirts of Warsaw, — crowds "looking from the upper windows" there; Polish chivalry, broken at last, going like chaff upon the winds, and John Casimir nearly ruined.

Shortly after which, Friedrich Wilhelm, who had shone much in the Battle, changed sides. An inconsistent, treacherous man? Perhaps not, O reader; perhaps a man advancing "in circuits," the only way he has; spirally, face now to east, now to west, with his own reasonable private aim sun-clear to him all the while?

John Casimir agreed to give-up the "Homage of Preussen" for this service; a grand prize for Friedrich Wilhelm.* What the Teutsch Ritters strove for in vain, and lost their existence in striving for, the shifty Kurfürst has now got: Ducal Prussia, which is also called East Prussia, is now a free sovereignty, — and will become as "Royal" as the other Polish part. Or perhaps even more so, in the course of time! — Karl

* Treaty of Labiau, 10th November 1656 (Pauli, v. 73-75); 20th November (Stenzel, iv. 128, — who always uses *New Style*).

Gustav, in a high frame of mind, informs the Kurfürst, that he has him on his books, and will pay the debt one day!

A dangerous debtor in such matters, this Karl Gustav. In these same months, busy with the Danish part of the Controversy, he was doing a feat of war, which set all Europe in astonishment. In January 1658, Karl Gustav marches his Army, horse, foot and artillery, to the extent of Twenty-thousand, across the Baltic ice, and takes an Island without shipping, — Island of Fünen, across the Little Belt; three miles of ice; and a part of the sea *open*, which has to be crossed on planks. Nay forward from Fünen, when once there, he achieves ten whole miles more of ice; and takes Zealand itself, * — to the wonder of all mankind. An imperious, stern-browed, swift-striking man; who had dreamed of a new Goth Empire: The mean Hypocrites and Fribbles of the South to be coerced again by noble Norse valour, and taught a new lesson. Has been known to lay his hand on his sword while apprising an Ambassador (Dutch High-Mightiness) what his royal intentions were: "Not the sale or purchase of groceries, observe you, Sir! My aims go higher!" — Charles Twelfth's Grandfather, and somewhat the same type of man.

But Karl Gustav died, short while after; ** left his big wide-raging Northern Controversy to collapse in what way it could. Sweden and the fighting-parties

* Holberg's *Dänemarkische Reichs-Historie*, pp. 406-409.

** 13th February 1660, age 38.

made their "Peace of Oliva" (Abbey of Oliva, near Dantzic, 1st May 1660); and this of Preussen was ratified, in all form, among the other points. No Homage more; nothing now above Ducal Prussia but the Heavens; and great times coming for it. This was one of the successfulest strokes of business ever done by Friedrich Wilhelm; who had been forced, by sheer compulsion, to embark in that big game. — "Royal Prussia," the Western or *Polish* Prussia: this too, as all Newspapers know, has, in our times, gone the same road as the other. Which probably, after all, it may have had, in Nature, some tendency to do? Cut away, for reasons, by the Polish sword, in that Battle of Tannenberg, long since; and then, also for reasons, cut back again! That is the fact; — not unexampled in human History.

Old Johann Casimir, not long after that Peace of Oliva, getting tired of his unruly Polish chivalry and their ways, abdicated; — retired to Paris; and "lived much with Ninon de l'Enclos and her circle," for the rest of his life. He used to complain of his Polish chivalry, that there was no solidity in them; nothing but outside glitter, with tumult and anarchic noise; fatal want of one essential talent, the talent of Obeying; — and has been heard to prophesy that a glorious Republic, persisting in such courses, would arrive at results which would surprise it.

Onward from this time, Friedrich Wilhelm figures in the world; public men watching his procedure; Kings

anxious to secure him, — Dutch Printsellers sticking-up his Portraits for a hero-worshipping Public. Fighting hero, had the Public known it, was not his essential character, though he had to fight a great deal. He was essentially an Industrial man; great in organising, regulating, in constraining chaotic heaps to become cosmic for him. He drains bogs, settles colonies in the waste-places of his Dominions, cuts canals; unweariedly encourages trade and work. The *Friedrich-Wilhelm's Canal*, which still carries tonnage from the Oder to the Spree,* is a monument of his zeal in this way; creditable, with the means he had. To the poor French Protestants, in the Edict-of-Nantes Affair, he was like an express Benefit of Heaven: one Helper appointed, to whom the help itself was profitable. He munificently welcomed them to Brandenburg; showed really a noble piety and human pity, as well as judgment; nor did Brandenburg and he want their reward. Some 20,000 nimble French souls, evidently of the best French quality, found a home there; — made "waste sands about Berlin into potherb gardens;" and in the spiritual Brandenburg, too, did something of horticulture, which is still noticeable.**

Certainly this Elector was one of the shiftiest of men. Not an unjust man either. A pious, God-fearing man rather, stanch to his Protestantism and his Bible;

* Executed, 1662-'68: fifteen English miles long (Büsching: *Erdbeschreibung*, vi. 2193).

** Erman (weak Biographer of Queen Sophie-Charlotte, already cited): *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Réfugiés Français dans les Etats du Roi de Prusse* (Berlin, 1782-'84), 8 tt. 8vo.

not unjust by any means, — nor, on the other hand, by any means thinskinnd in his interpretations of justice: Fairplay to myself always; or occasionally even the Height of Fairplay! On the whole, by constant energy, vigilance, adroit activity, by an ever-ready insight and audacity to seize the passing fact by its right handle, he fought his way well in the world; left Brandenburg a flourishing and greatly-increased Country, and his own name famous enough.

A thickset, stalwart figure; with brisk eyes, and high strong irregularly-Roman nose. Good bronze Statue of him, by Schlüter, once a famed man, still rides on the *Lange-Brücke* (Long-Bridge) at Berlin; and his Portrait, in huge frizzled Louis-Quatorze wig, is frequently met with in German Galleries. Collectors of Dutch Prints, too, know him: here a gallant, eagle-featured little gentleman, brisk in the smiles of youth, with plumes, with truncheon, caprioling on his war-charger, view of tents in the distance; — there a sedate, ponderous, wrinkly old man, eyes slightly puckered (eyes *busier* than mouth); a face well-ploughed by Time, and not found unfruitful; one of the largest, most laborious, potent faces (in an ocean of circumambient periwig) to be met with in that Century.* There are many Histories about him, too; but they are not comfortable to read.** He also has wanted a sacred Poet; and found only a bewildering Dryasdust.

* Both Prints are Dutch; the Younger, my copy of the Younger, has lost the Engraver's Name (Kurfürst's age is twenty-seven); the Elder is by *Masson*, 1683, when *Friedrich Wilhelm* was sixty-three.

** G. D. Geyler: *Leben und Thaten Friedrich Wilhelms des Grossen*

His Two grand Feats that dwell in the Prussian memory are perhaps none of his greatest, but were of a kind to strike the imagination. They both relate to what was the central problem of his life, — the recovery of Pommern from the Swedes: Exploit First is the famed "Battle of *Fehrbellin* (Ferry of Belleen)," fought on the 18th June 1675. Fehrbellin is an inconsiderable Town still standing in those peaty regions, some five-and-thirty miles north-west of Berlin; and had for ages plied its poor Ferry over the oily-looking, brown, sluggish stream called Rhin, or Rhein in those parts, without the least notice from mankind, till this fell out. It is a place of pilgrimage to patriotic Prussians, ever since Friedrich Wilhelm's exploit there. The matter went thus:

Friedrich Wilhelm was fighting, far south in Alsace, on Kaiser Leopold's side, in the Louis-Fourteenth War; that second one, which ended in the Treaty of Nimwegen. Doing his best there, — when the Swedes, egged-on by Louis XIV., made war upon him; crossed the Pommeranian marches, troop after troop, and invaded his Brandenburg Territory with a force which at length amounted to some 16,000 men. No help for the moment: Friedrich Wilhelm could not be spared from his post. The Swedes, who had at first professed

(Frankfort and Leipzig, 1703), folio. Franz Horn: *Das Leben Friedrich Wilhelms des Grossen* (Berlin, 1814). Pauli: *Staats-Geschichte*, Band v. (Halle, 1764). Pufendorf: *De rebus gestis Friderici Wilhelmi Magni Electoris Brandenburgensis Commentaria* (Lips. et Berol. 1733, fol.).

well, gradually went into plunder, roving, harrying, at their own will; and a melancholy time they made of it for Friedrich Wilhelm and his People. Lucky if temporary harm were all the ill they were likely to do; lucky if —! He stood steady, however; in his solid manner, finishing the thing in hand first, since that was feasible. He then even retired into winter-quarters, to rest his men; and seemed to have left the Swedish 16,000 autocrats of the situation; who accordingly went storming about at a great rate.

Not so, however; very far indeed from so. Having rested his men for certain months, Friedrich Wilhelm silently in the first days of June (1675) gets them under march again; marches, his Cavalry and he as first instalment, with best speed from Schweinfurt,* which is on the river Mayn, to Magdeburg; a distance of two-hundred miles. At Magdeburg, where he rests three days, waiting for the first handful of Foot and a field-piece or two, he learns that the Swedes are in three parties wide asunder; the middle party of them within forty miles of him. Probably stronger, even this middle one, than his small body (of "Six-thousand Horse, Twelve-hundred Foot and three guns"); — stronger, but capable perhaps of being surprised, of being cut in pieces, before the others can come up? Rathenau is the nearest skirt of this middle party: thither goes the Kurfürst, softly, swiftly, in the June night (16-17th June 1675); gets into Rathenau, by

* Stenzel, II, 347.

brisk stratagem; tumbles-out the Swedish Horse-regiment there, drives it back towards Fehrbellin.

He himself follows hard; — swift riding enough, in the summer-night, through those damp Havel lands, in the old Hohenzollern fashion: and indeed old Friesack Castle, as it chances, — Friesack, scene of Dietrich von Quitzow and *Lazy-Peg* long since, — is close by! Follows hard, we say: strikes-in upon this midmost party (nearly twice his number, but Infantry for most part); and after fierce fight, done with good talent on both sides, cuts it into utter ruin, as proposed. Thereby he has left the Swedish Army as a mere head and tail *without* body; has entirely demolished the Swedish Army.* Same feat intrinsically as that done by Cromwell, on Hamilton and the Scots, in 1648. It was, so to speak, the last visit Sweden paid to Brandenburg, or the last of any consequence; and ended the domination of the Swedes in those quarters. A thing justly to be forever remembered by Brandenburg; — on a smallish modern scale, the Bannockburn, Sempach, Marston, of Brandenburg.**

Exploit Second was four years later; in some sort a corollary to this; and a winding-up of the Swedish business. The Swedes, in farther prosecution of their Louis-Fourteenth speculation, had invaded Preussen this time, and were doing sad havoc there. It was in

* Stenzel, II. 350-357.

** See Pauli, v. 161-169; Stenzel, II. 335, 340-347, 354; Kausler, *Atlas des plus mémorables Batailles, Combats et Sièges*, or *Atlas der merkwürdigsten Schlachten, Treffen und Belagerungen* (German and French, Carlshuhe and Freiburg, 1831), p. 417, Blatt 62,

the dead of winter, Christmas 1678, more than four hundred miles off; and the Swedes, to say nothing of their other havoc, were in a case to take Königsberg, and ruin Prussia altogether, if not prevented. Friedrich Wilhelm starts from Berlin, with the opening Year, on his long march; the Horse-troops first, Foot to follow at their swiftest; he himself (his Wife, his ever-true 'Louisa,' accompanying, as her wont was) travels, towards the end, at the rate of "sixty miles a day." He gets-in still in time, finds Königsberg unscathed. Nay it is even said, the Swedes are extensively falling sick; having, after a long famine, found infinite "pigs, near Insterburg," in those remote regions, and indulged in the fresh pork overmuch.

I will not describe the subsequent manœuvres, which would interest nobody: enough if I say that on the 16th of January 1679, it had become of the highest moment for Friedrich Wilhelm to get from Carwe (Village near Elbing) on the shore of the *Frische Haf*, where he was, through Königsberg, to Gilge on the *Curische Haf*, where the Swedes are, — in a minimum of time. Distance, as the crow flies, is about a hundred miles; road, which skirts the two *Hafs** (wide shallow *Washes*, as we should name them), is of rough quality, and naturally circuitous. It is ringing frost today, and for days back: — Friedrich Wilhelm hastily gathers all the sledges, all the horses of the district; mounts some Four-thousand men in sledges; starts, with the speed of light, in that fashion. Scours along all day,

* Pauli, v. 215-222; Stenzel, II. 392-397.

and after the intervening bit of land, again along; awakening the icebound silences. Gloomy Frische Haf, wrapt in its Winter cloud-coverlids, with its wastes of tumbled sand, its poor frost-bound fishing-hamlets, pine-hillocks, — desolate-looking, stern as Greenland or more so, says Büsching, who travelled there in winter-time,* — hears unexpected human noises, and huge grinding and trampling; the Four-thousand, in long fleet of sledges, scouring across it, in that manner. All day they rush along, — out of the rimy hazes of morning into the olive-coloured clouds of evening again, — with huge loud-grinding rumble; — and do arrive in time at Gilge. A notable streak of things, shooting across those frozen solitudes, in the New-Year 1679; — little short of Karl Gustav's feat, which we heard of, in the other or Danish end of the Baltic, twenty years ago, when he took Islands without ships.

This Second Exploit, — suggested or not by that prior one of Karl Gustav on the ice, — is still a thing to be remembered by Hohenzollerns and Prussians. The Swedes were beaten here, on Friedrich Wilhelm's rapid arrival; were driven into disastrous rapid retreat Northward; which they executed in hunger and cold; fighting continually, like Northern bears, under the grim sky; Friedrich Wilhelm sticking to their skirts, — holding by their tail, like an angry bearward with steel whip in his hand. A thing which, on the small scale, reminds one of Napoleon's experiences. Not till Napoleon's huge fighting-flight, a Hundred-and-thirty-four

* Büsching's *Beiträge* (Halle, 1789), vi. 160.

years after, did I read of such a transaction in those parts. The Swedish invasion of Preussen has gone utterly to ruin.

And this, then, is the end of Sweden, and its bad neighbourhood on these shores, where it has tyrannously sat on our skirts so long? Swedish Pommern the Elector already had: last year, coming towards it ever since the Exploit of Fehrbellin, he had invaded Swedish Pommern; had besieged and taken Stettin, nay Stralsund too, where Wallenstein had failed; — cleared Pommern altogether of its Swedish guests. Who had tried next in Preussen, with what luck we see. Of Swedish Pommern the Elector might now say: "Surely it is mine; again mine, as it long was; well won a second time, since the first would not do!" But no: — Louis XIV. proved a gentleman to his Swedes. Louis, now that the Peace of Nimwegen had come, and only the Elector of Brandenburg was still in harness, said steadily, though anxious enough to keep well with the Elector: "They are my allies, these Swedes; it was on my bidding they invaded you: can I leave them in such a pass? It must not be!" So Pommern had to be given back. A miss which was infinitely grievous to Friedrich Wilhelm. The most victorious Elector cannot hit always, were his right never so good.

Another miss which he had to put-up with, in spite of his rights, and his good services, was that of the Silesian Duchies. The Heritage-Fraternity with Liegnitz had at length, in 1675, come to fruit. The last Duke of Liegnitz was dead: Duchies of Liegnitz, of Brieg,

Wohlau, are Brandenburg's, if there were right done! But Kaiser Leopold in the scarlet stockings will not hear of Heritage-Fraternity. "Nonsense!" answers Kaiser Leopold: "A thing suppressed at once, ages ago; by Imperial power: flat *zero* of a thing, at this time; — and you, I again bid you, return me your Papers upon it!" This latter act of duty Friedrich Wilhelm would not do; but continued insisting.* "Jägern-dorf at least, O Kaiser of the world," said he; "Jägern-dorf, there is no colour for your keeping that!" To which the Kaiser again answers, "Nonsense!" — and even falls-upon astonishing schemes about it, as we shall see; — but gives nothing. Ducal Preussen is sovereign, Cleve is at peace, Hinter-Pommern ours; — this Elector has conquered much: but Silesia and Vor-Pommern and some other things he will have to do without. Louis XIV., it is thought, once offered to get him made King;** but that he declined for the present.

His married and domestic life is very fine and human; especially with that Oranien-Nassau Princess, who was his first Wife (1646-1667): Princess Louisa of Nassau-Orange; Aunt to our own Dutch William, King William III., in time coming. An excellent wise Princess; from whom came the Orange Heritages, which afterwards proved difficult to settle: — Orange was at last exchanged for the small Principality of Neufchatel in Switzerland, which is Prussia's ever since. "Oranien-burg (*Orange-Burg*)" a Royal Country-house, still

* Pauli, v. 321.

** Ib. vii. 215.

standing, some Twenty miles northwards from Berlin, was this Louisa's place: she had trimmed it up into a little jewel, of the Dutch type, — potherb gardens, training-schools for young girls, and the like; — a favourite abode of hers, when she was at liberty for recreation. But her life was busy and earnest; she was helpmate, not in name only, to an everbusy man. They were married young; a marriage of love withal. Young Friedrich Wilhelm's courtship, wedding in Holland; the honest trustful walk and conversation of the two Sovereign Spouses, their journeyings together, their mutual hopes, fears and manifold vicissitudes; till Death, with stern beauty, shut it in: — all is human, true and wholesome in it; interesting to look upon, and rare among sovereign persons.

Not but that he had his troubles with his woman-kind. Even with this his first Wife, whom he loved truly, and who truly loved him, there were scenes; the Lady having a judgment of her own about everything that passed, and the Man being choleric withal. Sometimes, I have heard, "he would dash his Hat at her feet," saying symbolically, "Govern you, then, Madam! Not the Kurfürst-Hat; a Coif is my wear, it seems!"* Yet her judgment was good; and he liked to have it on the weightiest things, though her powers of silence might halt now and then. He has been known, on occasion, to run from his Privy-Council to her apartment, while a complex matter was debating, to ask her opinion,

* Förster, *Friedrich Wilhelm I. König von Preussen* (Potsdam, 1834), I. 177.

hers too, before it was decided. Excellent Louisa; Princess full of beautiful piety, good-sense and affection; a touch of the Nassau-Heroic in her. At the moment of her death, it is said, when speech had fled, he felt, from her hand which lay in his, three slight, slight pressures: "Farewell!" thrice mutely spoken in that manner, — not easy to forget in this world.*

His second Wife, Dorothea, — who planted the Lindens in Berlin, and did other husbandries, of whom we have heard, — fell far short of Louisa in many things; but not in tendency to advise, to remonstrate, and plaintively reflect on the finished and unalterable. Dreadfully thrifty lady, moreover; did much in dairy-produce, farming of town-rates, provision-taxes, not to speak again of that Tavern she was thought to have in in Berlin, and to draw custom to in an oblique manner! What scenes she had with Frederick her stepson, we have seen. "Ah, I have not my Louisa now: to whom now shall I run for advice or help!" would the poor Kurfürst at times exclaim.

He had some trouble, considerable, now and then, with mutinous spirits in Preussen; men standing on antique Prussian franchises and parchments; refusing to see that the same were now antiquated, incompatible, not to say impossible, as the new Sovereign alleged; and carrying themselves very stiffly at times. But the Hohenzollerns had been used to such things: a Hohenzollern like this one would evidently take his measures, soft but strong, and ever stronger to the needful pitch,

* *Wegführer: Leben der Kurfürstin Luise (Leipzig, 1838), p. 175.*

with mutinous spirits. One Bürgermeister of Königsberg, after much stroking on the back, was at length seized in open Hall, by Electoral writ, — soldiers having first gently barricaded the principal streets, and brought cannon to bear upon them. This Bürgermeister, seized in such brief way, lay prisoner for life; refusing to ask his liberty, though it was thought he might have had it on asking.*

Another gentleman, a Baron von Kalkstein, of old Teutsch-Ritter kin, of very high ways, in the Provincial Estates (*Stände*) and elsewhere, got into lofty almost solitary opposition, and at length into mutiny proper, against the new "Non-Polish" Sovereign, and flatly refused to do homage at his accession. Refused, Kalkstein did, for his share; fled to Warsaw; and very fiercely, in a loud manner, carried-on his mutinies in the Diets and Court-Conclaves; his plea being, or plea for the time, "Poland is our liege lord" (which it was not always), "and we cannot be transferred to you, except by our consent asked and given," — which too had been a little neglected on the former occasion of transfer. So that the Great Elector knew not what to do with Kalkstein; and at length (as the case was pressing) had him kidnapped by his Ambassador at Warsaw; had him "rolled into a carpet" there, and carried swiftly in the Ambassador's coach, in the form of luggage; over the frontier, into his native Province, there to be judged, and, in the end (since nothing else would serve him), to have the sentence executed, and his head cut off.

* Horn: *Das Leben Friedrich Wilhelms des Grossen* (Berlin, 1814), p. 68.

For the case was pressing!* — These things, especially this of Kalkstein with a boisterous Polish Diet and parliamentary eloquence in the rear of him, gave rise to criticisms; and required management on the part of the Great Elector.

Of all his Ancestors, our little Fritz, when he grew big, admired this one. A man made like himself in many points. He seems really to have loved and honoured this one. In the year 1750 there had been a new Cathedral got finished at Berlin; the ancestral bones had to be shifted over from the vaults of the old one, — the burying-place ever since Joachim II., that Joachim who drew his sword on Alba. "King Friedrich, with some attendants, witnessed the operation, "January 1750. When the Great Kurfürst's coffin "came, he made them open it; gazed in silence on the "features for some time, which were perfectly recognisable; laid his hand on the hand long-dead, and said, "*Messieurs, celui-ci a fait de grandes choses* (This one "did a great work)!"**

He died, 29th April 1688; — looking with intense interest upon Dutch William's preparations to produce a Glorious Revolution in this Island; being always of an ardent Protestant feeling, and a sincerely religious man. Friedrich, Crown-Prince, age then thirty-one, and already married a second time, was of course left Chief Heir; — who, as we see, has not declined the Kingship, when a chance for it offered. There were

* Horn, pp. 80-82.

** See Preuss, i. 270.

four Half-brothers of Friedrich, too, who got apanages, appointments. They had at one time confidently looked for much more, their Mother being busy; but were obliged to be content, and conform to the *Gera Bond* and fundamental Laws of the Country. They are entitled Margraves; — two of whom left children, Margraves of Brandenburg-Schwedt, *Heermeisters* (Head of the Malta-Knighthood) at Sonnenburg, Statthalters in Magdeburg, or I know not what; whose names turn-up confusedly in the Prussian Books; and, except as temporary genealogical puzzles, are not of much moment to the Foreign reader. Happily there is nothing else in the way of Princes of the Blood, in our little Friedrich's time; and happily what concern he had with them, or with the sons of these, will not be abstruse to us, if occasion rise.

CHAPTER XIX.

KING FRIEDRICH I. AGAIN.

WE said the Great Elector never could work his Silesian Duchies out of Kaiser Leopold's grip: to all his urgencies, the little Kaiser in red stockings answered only in evasions, refusals; and would quit nothing. We noticed also what quarrels the young Electoral Prince, Friedrich, afterwards King, had got into with his Stepmother; — suddenly feeling poisoned after dinner, running to his Aunt at Cassel, coming back on treaty, and the like. These are two facts which the reader knows: and out of these two grew a third, which it is fit he should know.

In his last years, the Great Elector, worn-out with labour, and harassed with such domestic troubles over and above, had evidently fallen much under his Wife's management; cutting-out large apanages (clear against the Gera Bond) for *her* children; — longing probably for quiet in his family at any price. As to the poor young Prince, negotiated back from Cassel, he lived remote, and had fallen into open disfavour, — with a very ill effect upon his funds, for one thing. His Father kept him somewhat tight on the money side, it is alleged; and he had rather a turn for spending money handsomely. He was also in some alarm about the proposed apanages to his Half-Brothers, the Mar-

graves above mentioned, of which there were rumours going.

How Austria settled the Silesian Claims.

Now in these circumstances the Austrian Court, who at this time (1685) greatly needed the Elector's help against Turks and others, and found him very urgent about these Silesian Duchies of his, fell upon what I must call a very extraordinary shift for getting rid of the Silesian question. "Serene Highness," said they, by their Ambassador at Berlin, "to end these troublesome talks, and to liquidate all claims, admissible and inadmissible, about Silesia, the Imperial Majesty will give you an actual bit of Territory, valuable, though not so large as you expected!" The Elector listens with both ears: What Territory, then? The "Circle of Schwiebus," hanging on the north-western edge of Silesia, contiguous to the Elector's own Dominions in these Frankfurt-on-the-Oder regions: this the generous Imperial Majesty proposes to give in fee-simple to Friedrich Wilhelm, and so to end the matter. Truly a most small patch of Territory in comparison; not bigger than an English Rutlandshire, to say nothing of soil and climate! But then again it was an actual patch of territory; not a mere parchment shadow of one: this last was a tempting point to the old harassed Elector. Such friendly offer they made him, I think, in 1685, at the time they were getting 8,000 of his troops to march against the Turks for them; a very

needful service at the moment. "By the by, do not march through Silesia, you! — Or march faster!" said the cautious Austrians on this occasion: "Other roads will answer better than Silesia!" said they.* Baron Freytag, their Ambassador at Berlin, had negotiated the affair so far: "Circle of Schwiebus," said Freytag, "and let us have done with these thorny talks!"

But Baron Freytag had been busy, in the mean while, with the young Prince; secretly offering sympathy, counsel, help; of all which the poor Prince stood in need enough. "We will help you in that dangerous matter of the Apanages," said Freytag; "Help you in all things," — (I suppose he would say), — "necessary pocket-money is not a thing your Highness need want!" And thus Baron Freytag, what is very curious, had managed to bargain beforehand with the young Prince, That directly on coming to power, he would give-up Schwiebus again, *should* the offer of Schwiebus be accepted by Papa. To which effect Baron Freytag held a signed Bond, duly executed by the young man, before Papa had concluded at all. Which is very curious indeed! —

Poor old Papa, worn-out with troubles, accepted Schwiebus in liquidation of all claims (8th April 1686), and a few days after set his men on march against the Turks: — and, exactly two months beforehand, on the 8th of February last, the Prince had signed *his* secret engagement, That Schwiebus should be a mere phantasm to Papa; that he, the Prince, would restore it on

* Pauli, v. 327, 332.

his accession. Both these singular Parchments, signed, sealed and done in the due legal form, lay simultaneously in Freytag's hand; and propably enough they exist yet, in some dusty corner, among the solemn sheepskins of the world. This is literally the plan hit upon by an Imperial Court, to assist a young Prince in his pecuniary and other difficulties, and get rid of Silesian claims. Plan actually not unlike that of swindling money-lenders to a young gentleman in difficulties, and of manageable turn, who has got into their hands.

The Great Elector died two years after; Schwiebus then in his hand. The new Elector, once instructed as to the nature of the affair, refused to give-up Schwiebus;* declared the transaction a swindle: — and in fact, for seven years more, retained possession of Schwiebus. But the Austrian Court insisted, with emphasis, at length with threats (no insuperable pressure from Louis, or the Turks, at this time); the poor cheated Elector had, at last, to give-up Schwiebus, in terms of his promise.** He took act that it had been a surreptitious transaction, palmed upon him while ignorant, and while without the least authority or power to make such a promise; that he was not bound by it, nor would be, except on compulsion thus far: and as to binding Brandenburg by it, how could he, at that period of his history, bind Brandenburg? Brandenburg was not then his to bind, any more than China was.

* 19th September 1689 (Pauli, vii. 74).

** 31st December 1694.

His Rath had advised Friedrich against giving-up Schwiebus in that manner. But his answer is on record: "I must, I will and shall keep my own word. "But my rights on Silesia, which I could not, and do "not in these unjust circumstances, compromise, I leave "intact for my posterity to prosecute. If God and the "course of events order it no otherwise than now, we "must be content. But if God shall one day send the "opportunity, those that come after me will know what "they have to do in such case."* And so Schwiebus was given up, the Austrians paying back what Brandenburg had laid-out in improving it, "250,000 *gulden* (25,000*l.*);" — and the Hand of Power had in this way, finally as it hoped, settled an old troublesome account of Brandenburg's. Settled the Silesian-Duchies Claim, by the temporary Phantasm of a Gift of Schwiebus. That is literally the Liegnitz-Jägerndorf case; and the reader is to note it and remember it. For it will turn-up again in History. The Hand of Power is very strong: but a stronger may perhaps get hold of its knuckles one day, at an advantageous time, and do a feat upon it.

The "eventual succession to East-Friesland," which had been promised by the Reich some ten years ago, to the Great Elector, "for what he had done against "the Turks, and what he had suffered from those "Swedish Invasions, in the Common Cause:" this shadow of Succession, the Kaiser now said, should not be haggled-with any more; but be actually realised, and

* Paull, vii. 150.

the Imperial sanction to it now given, — effect to follow *if* the Friesland Line died out. Let this be some consolation for the loss of Schwiebus and your Silesian Duchies. Here in Friesland is the ghost of a coming possession; there in Schwiebus was the ghost of a going one: phantasms you shall not want for; but the Hand of Power parts not with its realities, however come by.

His real Character.

Poor Friedrich led a conspicuous life as Elector and King; but no public feat he did now concerns us like this private one of Schwiebus. Historically important, this, and requiring to be remembered, while so much else demands mere oblivion from us. He was a spirited man; did soldierings, fine Siege of Bonn (July — October 1689), sieges and campaignings, in person, — valiant in action, royal especially in patience there, — during that Third War of Louis-Fourteenth's, the Treaty-of-Ryswick one. All through the Fourth, or Spanish Succession-War, his Prussian Ten-Thousand, led by fit generals, showed eminently what stuff they were made of. Witness Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau (still a *young* Dessauer) on the field of Blenheim; — Leopold had the right wing there, and saved Prince Eugene who was otherwise blown to pieces, while Marlborough stormed and conquered on the left. Witness the same Dessauer on the field of Höchstädt the year before,* how he managed the retreat there.

* Varnhagen von Ense: *Biographische Denkmale* (Berlin, 1845), II. 156,

Or see him at the Bridge of Casano (1705); in the Lines of Turin (1706);* wherever hot service was on hand. At Malplaquet, in those murderous inexpugnable French Lines, bloodiest of obstinate Fights (upwards of Thirty-thousand left on the ground), the Prussians brag that it was they who picked their way through a certain peat-bog, reckoned impassable; and got fairly in upon the French wing, — to the huge comfort of Marlborough, and little Eugene his brisk comrade on that occasion. Marlborough knew well the worth of these Prussian troops, and also how to stroke his Majesty into continuing them in the field.

He was an expensive King, surrounded by cabals, by Wartenbergs male and female, by whirlpools of intrigues, which, now that the game is over, become very forgettable. But one finds he was a strictly honourable man; with a certain height and generosity of mind, capable of other nobleness than the upholstery kind. He had what we may call a hard life of it; did and suffered a good deal in his day and generation, not at all in a dishonest or unmanful manner. In fact, he is quite recognisably a Hohenzollern, — with his back half-broken. Readers recollect that sad accident: how the Nurse, in one of those head-long journeys which his Father and Mother were always making, let the poor child fall or jerk backward; and spoiled him much, and indeed was thought to have killed him, by that piece of inattention. He was not yet Hereditary Prince,

* *Des weltberühmten Fürstens Leopoldi von Anhalt-Dessau Leben und Thaten* (Leipzig. 1742, anonymous, by one Michael Ranfft), pp. 53, 61.

he was only second son: but the elder died; and he became Elector, King; and had to go with his spine distorted, — distortion not glaringly conspicuous, though undeniable; — and to act the Hohenzollern *so*. Nay who knows but it was this very jerk, and the half-ruin of his nervous system, — this doubled wish to be beautiful, and this crooked-back capable of being hid or decorated into straightness, — that first set the poor man on thinking of expensive ornamentalities, and Kingships in particular? History will forgive the Nurse in that case.

Perhaps History has dwelt too much on the blind side of this expensive King. Toland, on entering his country, was struck rather with the signs of good administration everywhere. No sooner have you crossed the Prussian Border, out of Westphalia, says Toland, than smooth highways, well-tilled fields, and a general air of industry and regularity, are evident: solid mile-stones, brass-bound and with brass inscription, tell the traveller where he is; who finds due guidance of finger-posts, too, and the blessing of habitable inns. The people seem all to be busy, diligently occupied; villages reasonably swept and whitewashed; — never was a better set of Parish Churches; whether newbuilt or old, they are all in brand-new repair. The contrast with Westphalia is immediate and great; but indeed that was a sad country, to anybody but a patient Toland, who knows the causes of phenomena. No inns there, except of the naturally savage sort. “A man is very happy if he finds clean straw to sleep on, with-

"out expecting sheets or coverings; let him readily dispense with plates, forks and napkins, if he can get "anything to eat." "He must be content to have the "cows, swine and poultry for his fellow-lodgers, and to "go in at the same passage that the smoke comes out "at, for there's no other vent for it but the door; which "makes foreigners commonly say that the people of "Westphalia enter their houses by the chimney." And observe withal: "This is the reason why their beef and "hams are so finely prepared and ripened; for the fire- "place being backwards, the smoke must spread over "all the house before it gets to the door; which makes "every thing within of a russet or sable colour, not "excepting the hands and faces of the meaner sort.* If Prussia yield to Westphalia in ham, in all else she is strikingly superior.

He founded Universities, this poor King; University of Halle; Royal Academy of Berlin, Leibnitz presiding: he fought for Protestantism; — did what he could for the cause of *Cosmos versus Chaos*, after his fashion. The magnificences of his Charlottenburgs, Oranienburgs and numerous Country-houses make Toland almost poetic. An affable kindly man withal, though quick of temper; his word sacred to him. A man of many troubles, and acquainted with "the infinitely little (*l'infiniment petit*)," as his Queen termed it.

* *An Account of the Courts of Prussia and Hanover*, by Mr. Toland (cited already), p. 4.

CHAPTER XX.

DEATH OF KING FRIEDRICH I.

OLD King Friedrich I. had not much more to do in the world, after witnessing the christening of his Grandson of like name. His leading-forth or sending-forth of troops, his multiplex negotiations, solemn ceremonials, sad changes of ministry, sometimes transacted "with tears," are mostly ended; the ever-whirling dust-vortex of intrigues, of which he has been the centre for a five-and-twenty years, is settling down finally towards everlasting rest. No more will Marlborough come and dextrously talk him over, — proud to "serve as cup-bearer," on occasion, to so high a King, — for new bodies of men to help in the next campaign: we have ceased to be a King worthy of such a cupbearer; and Marlborough's campaigns too are all ended.

Much is ended. They are doing the sorrowful Treaty of Utrecht; Louis XIV. himself is ending; mournfully shrunk into the corner, with his Missal and his Maintenon; looking back, with just horror, on Europe four times set ablaze for the sake of one poor mortal in big periwig, to no purpose. Lucky if perhaps Missal-work, orthodox litanies, and even Protestant Dragonades, can have virtue to wipe-out such a score against a man! Unhappy Louis: the sun-bright gold has become dim as copper; we rose in storms, and we

are setting in watery clouds. The Kaiser himself (Karl VI., Leopold's Son, Joseph I.'s younger Brother) will have to conform to this Treaty of Utrecht: what other possibility for him?

The English, always a wonderful Nation, fought and subsidied from side to side of Europe for this Spanish-Succession business; fought ten years, such fighting as they never did before or since, under "John Duke of Marlborough," who, as is well known, "beat the French thorough and thorough." French entirely beaten at last, not without heroic difficulty and as noble talent as was ever shown in diplomacy and war, are ready to do your will in all things; in this of giving-up Spain, among others:—whereupon the English turn round, with a sudden new thought, "No, we will not have our *will* done; it shall be the other way, the way it *was*, — now that we bethink ourselves, after all this fighting for our will!" And make Peace on those terms, as if no War had been; and accuse the great Marlborough of many things, of theft for one. A wonderful People; and in their Continental Politics (which indeed consist chiefly of Subsidies) thrice wonderful. So the Treaty of Utrecht is transacting itself; which that of Rastadt, on the part of Kaiser and Empire, unable to get-on without Subsidies, will have to follow: and after such quantities of powder burnt, and courageous lives wasted, general *As-you-were* is the result arrived at.

Old Friedrich's Ambassadors are present at Utrecht, jangling and pleading among the rest; at Berlin too the

despatch of business goes lumbering on: but what thing, in the shape of business, at Utrecht or at Berlin, is of much importance to the old man? Seems as if Europe itself were waxing dim, and sinking to stupid sleep, — as we, in our poor royal person, full surely are. A Crown has been achieved, and diamond buttons worth 1500*l.* a-piece: but what is a Crown, and what are buttons, after all? — I suppose the tattle and *singeries* of little Wilhelmina, whom he would spend whole days with; this and occasional visits to a young Fritzchen's cradle, who is thriving moderately, and will speak and do a-eries one day, — are his main solacements in the days that are passing. Much of this Friedrich's life has gone-off like the smoke of fireworks, has faded sorrowfully, and proved phantasmal. Here is an old Autograph Note, written by him at the side of that Cradle, and touching on a slight event there; which, as it connects two venerable Correspondents and their Seventeenth Century with a grand Phenomenon of the Eighteenth, we will insert here. The old King addresses his older Mother-in-law, famed Electress Sophie of Hanover, in these terms (spelling corrected):

"Charlottenburg, den 30 August 1712.

"*Ew. Churf. Durchlaucht werden sich zweifelsohne mit uns erfreuen, dass der kleine Printz (Prinz) Fritz nunmehr (nunmehr)*
"6 Zehne (Zähne) hat und ohne die geringste incommoditet (-tät).
"Daraus kann man auch die predestination sehen, dass alle seine
"Brüder haben daran sterben müssen, dieser aber bekommt sie
"ohne Mühe wie seine Schwester. Gott erhalte ihn uns noch lange

*“zum trohst (Trost), in dessen Schutz ich dieselbe ergebe und
“lebenslang verbleibe,*

“Ew. Churf. Durchl. gehorsamster Diener und treuer Sohn,

*“FRIEDRICH R.” **

Of which this is the literal English:

“Your Electoral Serenity will doubtless rejoice with us
“that the little Prince Fritz has now got his sixth tooth with-
“out the least *incommodité*. And therein we may trace a pre-
“destination, inasmuch as his Brothers died of teething” (*Not
of cannon-sound and weight of head-gear, then, your Majesty
thinks? That were a painful thought!*); “and this one, as his
“Sister” (*Wilhelmina*) “did, gets them” (*the teeth*) “without
“trouble. God preserve him long for a comfort to us: — to
“whose protection I commit *Dieselbe*” (*Your Electoral High-
ness, in the third person*), “and remain lifelong, Your Electoral
“Highness’s most obedient Servant and true Son,

FRIEDRICH REX.”

One of Friedrich Rex’s worst adventures was his latest; commenced some five or six years ago (1708), and now not far from terminating. He was a Widower, of weakly constitution, towards fifty: his beautiful ingenious “Serena,” with all her Theologies, pinch-of-snuff Coronations and other earthly troubles, was dead; and the task of continuing the Hohenzollern progeny, given over to Friedrich Wilhelm the Prince Royal, was thought to be in good hands. Majesty Friedrich with the weak back had retired, in 1708, to Carlsbad, to rest from his cares; to take the salutary waters, and

* Preuss: *Friedrich der Grosse (Historische Skizze*, Berlin, 1838), p. 280.

recruit his weak nerves a little. Here in the course of confidential promenadings, it was hinted, it was represented to him by some pick-thank of a courtier, That the task of continuing the Hohenzollern progeny did not seem to prosper in the present good hands; that Sophie Dorothee, Princess Royal, had already born two royal infants which had speedily died; that in fact it was to be gathered from the medical men, if not from their words, then from their looks and cautious innuendos, that Sophie Dorothee, Princess Royal, would never produce a Prince or even Princess that would live: which task, therefore, did now again seem to devolve upon his Majesty, if his Majesty had not insuperable objections? Majesty had no insuperable objections; old Majesty listened to the flattering tale; and, sure enough, he smarted for it in a signal manner.

By due industry, a Princess was fixed upon for Bride, Princess Sophie Louisa of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, age now twenty-four: she was got as Wife, and came home to Berlin in all pomp; — but good came not with her to anybody there. Not only did she bring the poor old man no children, which was a fault to be overlooked, considering Sophie Dorothee's success; but she brought a querulous, weak and self-sufficient female humour; found his religion heterodox, — he being Calvinist, and perhaps even lax-Calvinist, she Lutheran as the Prussian Nation is, and strict to the bone: — heterodox wholly, to the length of no salvation possible; and times rose on the Berlin Court such as had never been seen before! "No salvation possible, says my

Dearest? Hah! And an innocent Court-Mask or Dancing Soirée is criminal in the sight of God and of the Queen? And we are children of wrath wholly, and a frivolous generation; and the Queen will see us all —!" —

The end was, his Majesty, through sad solitary days and nights, repented bitterly that he had wedded such a She-Dominic; grew quite estranged from her; the poor She-Dominic giving him due return in her way, — namely, living altogether in her own apartments, upon orthodoxy, jealousy and other bad nourishment. Till at length she went quite mad; and, except the due medical and other attendants, nobody saw her, or spoke of her, at Berlin. Was this a cheering issue of such an adventure to the poor old expensive Gentleman? He endeavoured to digest in silence the bitter morsel he had cooked for himself; but reflected often, as an old King might, What dirt have I eaten!

In this way stands that matter in the Schloss of Berlin, when little Friedrich, who will one day be called the Great, is born. Habits of the expensive King, hours of rising, modes of dressing, and so forth, are to be found in Pöllnitz;* but we charitably omit them all. Even from foolish Pöllnitz a good eye will gather, what was above intimated, that this feeble-

* Pöllnitz; *Memoiren zur Lebens- und Regierungs-Geschichte der Vier letzten Regenten des Preussischen Staats* (Berlin, 1791). A vague, inexact, but not quite uninteresting or uninteresting Book: Printed also in French, which was the Original, same place and time.

backed, heavy-laden old King was of humane and just disposition; had dignity in his demeanour; had reticence, patience; and, though hot-tempered like all the Hohenzollerns, that he bore himself like a perfect gentleman, for one thing; and tottered along his high-lying lonesome road not in an unmanful manner at all. Had not his nerves been damaged by that fall in infancy, who knows but we might have had something else to read of him than that he was regardless of expense in this world!

His last scene, of date February 1713, is the tragical ultimatum of that fine Carlsbad adventure of the Second marriage, — Third marriage in fact, though the First, anterior to "Serena," is apt to be forgotten, having lasted short while, and produced only a Daughter, not memorable except by accident. This Third marriage, which had brought so many sorrows to him, proved at length the death of the old man. For he sat one morning, in the chill February days of the Year 1713, in his Apartment, as usual; weak of nerves, but thinking no special evil; when, suddenly with huge jingle, the glass-door of his room went to sherds; and there rushed-in — bleeding and dishevelled, the fatal "White Lady" (*Weisse Frau*), who is understood to walk that Schloss at Berlin, and announce Death to the Royal inhabitants. Majesty had fainted, or was fainting. "Weisse Frau? Oh no, your Majesty!" — Not that; but indeed something almost worse. — Mad Queen, in her Apartments, had been seized, that day,

when half or quarter dressed, with unusual orthodoxy or unusual jealousy. Watching her opportunity, she had whisked into the corridor, in extreme deshabelle; and gone, like the wild roe, towards Majesty's Suite of Rooms; through Majesty's glass-door, like a catapult; and emerged, as we saw, — in petticoat and shift, with hair streaming, eyes glittering, arms cut, and the other sad trimmings. O Heaven, who could laugh? There are tears due to Kings and to all men. It was deep misery; deep enough. "*Sin* and misery," as Calvin well says, on the one side and the other! The poor old King was carried to bed; and never rose again, but died in a few days. The date of the *Weisse Frau's* death, one might have hoped, was not distant either; but she lasted, in her sad state, for above twenty years coming.

Old King Friedrich's death-day was 25th February 1713; the unconscious little Grandson being then in his Fourteenth month. To whom, after this long voyage round the world, we now gladly return.

* * By way of reinforcement to any recollection the reader may have of these Twelve Hohenzollern Kurfürsts, I will append a continuous list of them, with here and there an indication.

The Twelve Hohenzollern Electors.

1°. FRIEDRICH I. (as Burggraf, was Friedrich VI.): born, it is inferred, 1372 (Rentsch, p. 350); accession, 18th April 1417; died 21st September 1440. Had come to Brandenburg, 1412, as Statthalter. The *Quitows* and *Heavy Peg*.

2°. FRIEDRICH II.: 19th November 1413; 21st September 1440; 10th Feb. 1471. Friedrich *Iron-teeth*; tames the Berlin

Burghers. Spoke Polish, was to have been Polish King. Cannon-shot upon his dinner-table shatters his nerves so, that he abdicates, and soon dies. *Johannes Alchymista* his elder Brother; *Albert Achilles* his younger.

3°. ALBERT (Achilles): 24th November 1414; 10th February 1471; 11th March 1486. Third son of Friedrich I.; is lineal Progenitor of all the rest.

Eldest Son, *Johann Cicero*, follows as Kurfürst; a Younger Son, *Friedrich* (by a different Mother), got Culmbach, and produced the Elder Line there. (See Genealogical Diagram, p. 102.)

4°. JOHANN (Cicero): 2d August 1455; 11th March 1486; 9th Jan. 1499. Big John. Friedrich of Culmbach's elder (Half-)Brother.

5°. JOACHIM I.: 21st February 1484; 9th January 1499; 11th July 1535. Loud in the Reformation times; finally declares peremptorily for the Conservative side. Wife (Sister of Christian II. of Denmark) runs away

Younger Brother Albert Kur-Maintz, whom Hutten celebrated: born 1490; Archbishop of Magdeburg and Halberstadt 1513, of Maintz 1514; died 1545: set Tetzl, and the Indulgence, on foot.

6°. JOACHIM II. (Hector): 9th January 1505; 11th July 1535; 3d January 1571. Sword drawn on Alba once. *Erbverbrüderung* with Liegnitz. Staircase at Grimnitz. A weighty industrious Kurfürst.

Declared himself Protestant, 1539. Wife was Daughter to Duke George of Saxony, Luther's "If it rained Duke Georges." — Johann of Cüstrin was a younger Brother of his: died ten days after Joachim; left no Son.

7°. JOHANN GEORGE: 11th September 1525; 3d January 1571; 8th January 1598. Cannon-shot, at Siege of Wittenberg, upon Kaiser Karl and him. Gera Bond.

Married a Silesian Duke of Liegnitz's Daughter (result of the *Erbverbrüderung* there, — *Antea*, Vol. I. p. 330). Had twenty-three children. It was to him that Baireuth and Anspach fell home: he settled them

on his second and his third sons, Christian and Joachim Ernst; founders of the New Line of Baireuth and Anspach. (See Genealogical Diagram, p. 103.)

8°. JOACHIM FRIEDRICH: 27th January 1546; 8th January 1598; 18th July 1608. Archbishop of Magdeburg first of all, — to keep the place filled. Joachimsthal School at old Castle of Grimnitz. Very vigilant for Preussen; which was near falling due.

Two of his Younger Sons, Johann George (1577-1624) to whom he gave *Jägerndorf*, and that Archbishop of Magdeburg, who was present in Tilly's storm, got wrecked in the Thirty-Years War; — not without results, in the *Jägerndorf* case.

9°. JOHANN SIGISMUND: 8th November 1572; 18th July 1608; 23d December 1619. Preussen: Cleve; Slap on the face to Neuburg.

10°. GEORGE WILHELM: 3d November 1595; 22d November 1619; 21st November 1640. The unfortunate of the Thirty-Years War. "*Que faire; ils ont des canons!*"

11°. FRIEDRICH WILHELM: 6th February 1620; 21st November 1640; 29th April 1688. The Great Elector.

12°. FRIEDRICH III.: 1st July 1657; 29th April 1688; 25th February 1713. First King (18th January 1701).

3d Kurfürst (1471-1486),**ALBERT ACHILLES.****ELDER CULMBACH LINE.**

FRIEDRICH, second Son of Kurfürst Albert Achilles, younger Brother of Johannes Cicero, got *Culmbach*: Anspach first, then *Baireuth* on the death of a younger Brother. Born 1460; got Anspach 1486, *Baireuth* 1495; followed Max in his *Venetian Campaign*, 1508; fell *imbecile* 1515; dies 1536. Had a Polish Wife; from whom came interests in Hungary as well as Poland to his children. Friedrich had Three notable Sons,

1. **CASIMIR**, who got *Baireuth* (1515); born 1481; died 1527. Very truculent in the Peasants' War.

2. **GEORGE THE PIOUS**, who got *Anspach* (1515); born 1484; died 1543; got *Jägerndorf*, by purchase, from his Mother's Hungarian connexion, 1524. Protestant declared, 1528; and makes honourable figure in the Histories thenceforth. The George of Kaiser Karl's "*Nit-Kop-ab*." One Son,

3. **ALBERT**: born 1490; Hochmeister of the Teutsch Ritters, 1511; declares himself Protestant, and Duke of Prussia, 1525; died 1568.

ALBERT Alcibiades: a man of great mark in his day (1522-1557); never married. Two Sisters, with one of whom he took shelter at last; no Brother.

GEORGE FRIEDRICH: born 1539; went to administer Preussen when Cousin became incompetent; died 1603. Heir to his Father in *Anspach* and *Jägerndorf*; also, to his Cousin Alcibiades in *Baireuth*. Had been left a minor (boy of four, as the reader sees); Alcibiades his Guardian for a little while: from which came great difficulties, and unjust ruin would have come, had not Kurfürst Joachim I. been helpful and vigorous in his behalf. George Friedrich got at length most of his Territories into hand: *Anspach* and *Baireuth* unimpaired, *Jägerndorf* too, except that *Ratibor* and *Oppeln* were much eaten into by the Imperial chicaneries in that quarter. Died 1603, without children;—upon which his Territories all reverted to the main Brandenburg-line, namely, to Johann George Seventh Kurfürst, or his representatives, according to the *Gera Bond*; and the "*Elder Culmbach Line*" had ended in this manner.

One Son, **ALBERT FRIEDRICH**: born 1553; follows as Duke 1568, declared *melancholic* 1573; died 1618. His Cousin George Friedrich administered for him till 1603; after which Joachim Friedrich; and then, lastly, Joachim Friedrich's Son, Johann Sigismund, the Ninth Kurfürst. Had married the Heiress of Cleve (whence came a celebrated Cleve Controversy in after-times). No son; a good many daughters; one of whom was married to Kurfürst Johann Sigismund; from her came the controverted Cleve Property.

7th Kurfürst (1571-1598),
JOHANN GEORGE.

YOUNGER CULMBACH LINE.

Kurfürst Johann George settled Baireuth and Anspach on Two of his Younger Sons, who are Founders of the "Younger Culmbach Line" (*Split-Line or Pair of Lines*). Jägerndorf the new Kurfürst, Joachim Friedrich, kept; settled it on one of his younger sons. Here are the two new Founders in Baireuth and Anspach, and some indication of their "Lines" so far as important to us at present.

Baireuth.

(1.) CHRISTIAN, second son of Kurfürst Johann George: born 1581; got Baireuth 1603; died 1655. A distinguished Governor in his sphere. Had two sons; the elder died before him, but left a son, Christian Ernst; who (2.) succeeded, and (3.) whose son, George Wilhelm: 1644, 1655, 1712; 1678, 1712, 1726 (are birth, accession, end, of these two); the latter of whom had no son that lived.

Upon which, the posterity of Christian's second son succeeded. Second son of Christian notable to us in two little ways:

First, That he, George Albert, Margraf of Culmbach, is the inscrutable "Marquis de Lulembach" of Bromley's Letters (*Vide* Vol. I. p. 264, let the Commentators take comfort!):

Second and better, That from him came our little Wilhelmina's Husband, — as will be afterwards explained. It was his grandson (4.) that succeeded in Baireuth, George Friedrich Karl (1688, 1726, 1735); Father of Wilhelmina's Husband. After whom (5.) his Son Friedrich (1711, 1735, 1763), Wilhelmina's Husband; who leaving (1763) nothing but a daughter, Baireuth fell to Anspach, 1769, after an old Uncle (6.), childless, had also died.

Six Baireuth Margraves of this Line; five generations: and then to Anspach, in 1769.

Anspach.

(1.) JOACHIM ERNST, third son of Kurfürst Johann George: born 1583, got Anspach 1603; died 1625. Had military tendencies, experiences; did not thrive as Captain of the *Evangelical Union* (1619-1620) when *Winter-King* came up and *Thirty-Years War* along with him. Left two sons; elder of whom, (2.) Friedrich, nominally Sovereign, age still only eighteen, fell in the Battle of Nördlingen (worst battle of the *Thirty-Years War*, 1734); and the younger of whom, (3.) Albert, succeeded (1620, 1634, 1667); and his son, (4.) Johann Friedrich (1654, 1667, 1686); and (5, 6, 7.) no fewer than three grandsons, — children mostly, though entitled "sovereign," — in a parallel way (Christian Albert, 1675, 1686, 1692; George Friedrich, 1678, 1692, 1703; Wilhelm Friedrich, 1685, 1703, 1723). Two little points notable here also, and no third:

First, That one of the grand-daughters, full-sister of the last of these three parallel figures, half-sister of the two former, was — Queen Caroline, George II.'s wife, who has still some fame with us.

Second, That the youngest of said three grandsons, Queen Caroline's full-brother, left a son then minor, who became major, (8.) and wedded a Sister of our dear little Wilhelmina's of whom we shall hear (Karl Wilhelm Friedrich, 1712, 1723, 1757): unmomentous Margraf otherwise. His and her one son it was (9.), Christian Friedrich Karl Alexander (1736, 1757, 1806), who inherited Baireuth, inherited Actress Clairon, Lady Craven, and at Hammer-smith (House once Bubb Duddington's, if that has any charm) ended the affair.

Nine Anspach Margraves; in five generations: end, 1806.

BOOK IV.

FRIEDRICH'S APPRENTICESHIP, FIRST STAGE.

1713-1723.

CHAPTER I.

CHILDHOOD: DOUBLE EDUCATIONAL ELEMENT.

OF Friedrich's childhood, there is not, after all our reading, much that it would interest the English public to hear tell of. Perhaps not much of knowable that deserves anywhere to be known. Books on it, expressly handling it, and Books on Friedrich Wilhelm's Court and History, of which it is always a main element, are not wanting: but they are mainly of the sad sort which, with pain and difficulty, teach us nothing. Books done by pedants and tenebrific persons, under the name of men; dwelling not on things, but, at endless length, on the outer husks of things: of unparalleled confusion, too; — not so much as an Index granted you; to the poor half-peck of cinders, hidden in these wagon-loads of ashes, no sieve allowed! Books tending really to fill the mind with mere dust-whirlwinds, — if the mind did not straightway blow them out again; which it does. Of these let us say nothing. Seldom had so curious a Phenomenon worse treatment from the Dryas-dust species.

Among these Books, touching on Friedrich's childhood, and treating of his Father's Court, there is hardly above one that we can characterise as fairly human: the Book written by his little Sister Wilhelmina, when

she grew to size and knowledge of good and evil;* — and this, of what flighty uncertain nature it is, the world partly knows. A human Book, however, not a pedant one: there is a most shrill female soul busy with intense earnestness here; looking, and teaching us to look. We find it a *veracious* Book, done with heart, and from eyesight and insight; — of a veracity deeper than the superficial sort. It is full of mistakes, indeed; and exaggerates dreadfully, in its shrill female way; but is above intending to deceive: deduct the due subtrahend, — say perhaps twenty-five per cent, or in extreme cases as high as seventy-five, — you will get some human image of credible actualities from Wilhelmina. Practically she is our one resource on this matter. Of the strange King Friedrich Wilhelm and his strange Court, with such an Heir-Apparent growing-up in it, there is no real light to be had, except what Wilhelmina gives, — or kindles dark Books of others into giving. For that, too, on long study, is the result of her, here and there. With so flickery a wax-taper held over Friedrich's childhood, — and the other dirty tallow-dips all going out in intolerable odour, — judge if our success can be very triumphant!

We perceive the little creature has got much from Nature; not the big arena only, but fine inward gifts, for he is well-born in more senses than one; — and

* *Mémoires de Frédérique Sophie Wilhelmine de Prusse, Margrave de Bareith* (Brunswick, Paris et Londres, 1812), 2 vols. 8vo.

that in the breeding of him there are two elements noticeable, widely diverse: the French and the German. This is perhaps the chief peculiarity; best worth laying-hold of, with the due comprehension, if our means allow.

First educational Element, the French one.

His nurses, governesses, simultaneous and successive, mostly of French breed, are duly set down in the Prussian Books, and held in mind as a point of duty by Prussian men; but, in foreign parts, cannot be considered otherwise than as a group, and merely with generic features. He had a Frau von Kamecke for Head Governess, — the lady whom Wilhelmina, in her famed *Mémoires*, always writes *Kamken*; and of whom, except the floating gossip found in that Book, there is nothing to be remembered. Under her, as practical superintendent, *Sous-gouvernante* and quasi-mother, was the Dame de Roucoulles, a more important person for us here. Dame de Roucoulles, once de Montbail, the same respectable Edict-of-Nantes French lady who, five-and-twenty years ago, had taken similar charge of Friedrich Wilhelm; a fact that speaks well for the character of her performance in that office. She had done her first edition of a Prussian Prince in a satisfactory manner; and not without difficult accidents and singularities, as we have heard: the like of which were spared her in this her second edition (so we may call it); a second and, in all manner of ways, an improved one. The young Fritz swallowed no shoebuckles;

did not leap out of window, hanging-on by the hands; nor achieve anything of turbulent, or otherwise memorable, in his infantine history; the course of which was in general smooth, and runs, happily for it, below the ken of rumour. The Boy, it is said, and is easily credible, was of extraordinary vivacity; quick in apprehending all things, and gracefully relating himself to them. One of the prettiest vividest little boys; with eyes, with mind and ways, of uncommon brilliancy; — only he takes less to soldiering than the paternal heart could wish; and appears to find other things in the world fully as notable as loud drums, and stiff men drawn-up in rows. Moreover, he is apt to be a little unhealthy now and then, and requires care from his nurses, over whom the judicious Roucouilles has to be very vigilant.

Of this respectable Madame de Roucouilles I have read, at least seven times, what the Prussian Books say of her by way of Biography; but it is always given in their dull tombstone style; it has moreover next to no importance; and I, — alas, I do not yet too well remember it! She was from Normandy; of gentle blood, never very rich; Protestant, in the Edict-of-Nantes time; and had to fly her country, a young widow, with daughter and mother-in-law hanging on her; the whole of them almost penniless. However, she was kindly received at the Court of Berlin, as usual in that sad case; and got some practical help towards living in her new country. Queen Sophie Charlotte had liked her society; and finding her of prudent intelligent turn, and

with the style of manners suitable, had given her Friedrich Wilhelm to take charge of. She was at that time Madame de Montbail; widow, as we said: she afterwards wedded Roucoules, a refugee gentleman of her own Nation, who had gone into the Prussian Army, as was common for the like of him. She had again become a widow, Madame de Roucoules this time, with her daughter Montbail still about her, when by the grateful good sense of Friedrich Wilhelm, she was again intrusted as we see; — and so had the honour of governing Frederick the Great for the first seven years of his life. Respectable lady, she oversaw his nurses, pap-boats, — “beer-soup and bread,” he himself tells us once, was his main diet in boyhood, — beer-soups, dress-frocks, first attempts at walking; and then also his little bits of intellectualities, moralities; his incipencies of speech, demeanour, and spiritual development; and did her function very honestly, there is no doubt.

Wilhelmina mentions her, at a subsequent period; and we have a glimpse of this same Roucoules, gliding about among the royal young-folk, “with only one tooth left” (figuratively speaking), and somewhat given to tattle, in Princess Wilhelmina’s opinion. Grown very old now, poor lady; and the dreadfulest bore, when she gets upon Hanover, and her experiences, and Queen Sophie Charlotte’s, in that stupendously magnificent court under Gentleman Ernst. Shun that topic, if you love your peace of mind!* — She did

* *Mémoires*, (above cited).

certainly superintend the Boy Fritzkin for his first seven years; that is a glory that cannot be taken from her. And her Pupil, too, we agreeably perceive, was always grateful for her services in that capacity. Once a-week, if he were in Berlin, during his youthful time, he was sure to appear at the Roucouilles Soirée, and say and look various pleasant things to his "*cher Maman* (dear Mamma)," as he used to call her, and to the respectable small party she had. Not to speak of other more substantial services, which also were not wanting.

Roucouilles and the other female souls, mainly French, among whom the incipient Fritz now was, appear to have done their part as well as could be looked for. Respectable Edict-of-Nantes French ladies, with high head-gear, wide hoops; a clear, correct, but somewhat barren and meagre species, tight-laced and high-frizzled in mind and body. It is not a very fertile element for a young soul: not very much of silent piety in it; and perhaps of vocal piety more than enough in proportion. An element founding on what they call "enlightened Protestantism," "freedom of thought," and the like, which is apt to become loquacious, and too conscious of itself; tending, on the whole, rather to contempt of the false, than to deep or very effective recognition of the true.

But it is, in some important senses, a clear and pure element withal. At lowest, there are no conscious semifalsities, or volunteer hypocrisies, taught the poor Boy: honour, clearness, truth of word at least; a de-

corous dignified bearing; various thin good things, are honestly inculcated and exemplified; nor is any bad, ungraceful or suspicious thing permitted there, if recognised for such. It might have been a worse element; and we must be thankful for it. Friedrich, through life, carries deep traces of this French-Protestant incipency: — a very big wide-branching royal tree, in the end; but as small and flexible a seedling once as any one of us!

The good old Dame de Roucoules just lived to witness his accession; on which grand juncture and afterwards, as he had done before, he continued to express, in graceful and useful ways, his gratitude and honest affection to her and hers. Tea-services, presents in cut-glass and other kinds, with Letters that were still more precious to the old Lady, had come always at due intervals: and one of his earliest kingly gifts was that of some suitable small Pension for Montbail, the elderly daughter of this poor old Roucoules,*

* Preuss: *Friedrich der Grosse, eine Lebensgeschichte* (5 vols. Berlin, 1832-1834), v. (Urkundenbuch, p. 4). (*Œuvres de Frédéric* (same Preuss's Edition, Berlin, 1846-1850, &c.), xvi. 184, 191. — The Herr Doctor J. D. E. Preuss, "Historiographer of Brandenburg," devoted wholly to the study of Friedrich for five-and-twenty years past, and for above a dozen years busily engaged in editing the *Œuvres de Frédéric*, — has, besides that *Lebensgeschichte* just cited, three or four smaller Books, of indistinctly different titles, on the same subject. A meritoriously exact man; acquainted with the outer details of Friedrich's Biography (had he any way of arranging, organising or setting them forth) as few men ever were or will be. We shall mean always this *Lebensgeschichte* here, when no other title is given; and (*Œuvres de Frédéric* shall signify his Edition, unless the contrary be stated.

Carlyle, Frederic the Great. II.

who was just singing her *Dimittas*, as it were, still in a blithe and pious manner. For she saw now (in 1740) her little nurseling grown to be a brilliant man and King; King gone out to the Wars, too, with all Europe inquiring and wondering what the issue would be. As for her, she closed her poor old eyes, at this stage of the business; piously, in foreign parts, far from her native Normandy; and did not see farther what the issue was. Good old Dame, I have, as was observed, read some seven times over what they call biographical accounts of her; but have seven times (by Heaven's favour, I do partly believe) mostly forgotten them again; and would not, without cause, inflict on any reader the like sorrow. To remember one worthy thing, how many thousand unworthy things must a man be able to forget!

From this Edict-of-Nantes environment, which taught our young Fritz his first lessons of human behaviour, — a polite sharp little Boy, we do hope and understand, — he learned also to clothe his bits of notions, emotions, and garrulous utterabilities, in the French dialect. Learned to speak, and likewise, what is more important, to *think*, in French; which was otherwise quite domesticated in the Palace, and became his second mother-tongue. Not a bad dialect; yet also none of the best. Very lean and shallow, if very clear and convenient; leaving much in poor Fritz unuttered, unthought, unpractised, which might otherwise have come into activity in the course of his life. He learned to

read very soon, I presume; but he did not, now or afterwards, ever learn to spell. He spells indeed dreadfully *ill*, at his first appearance on the writing stage, as we shall see by and by; and he continued, to the last, one of the bad spellers of his day. A circumstance which I never can fully account for, and will leave to the reader's study.

From all manner of sources, — from inferior valetaille, Prussian Officials, Royal Majesty itself when not in gala, — he learned, not less rootedly, the corrupt Prussian dialect of German; and used the same, all his days, among his soldiers, native officials, common subjects and wherever it was most convenient; speaking it, and writing and misspelling it, with great freedom, though always with a certain aversion and undisguised contempt, which has since brought him blame in some quarters. It is true, the Prussian form of German is but rude; and probably Friedrich, except sometimes in Luther's Bible, never read any German Book. What, if we will think of it, could he know of his first mother-tongue? German, to this day, is a frightful dialect for the stupid, the pedant and dullard sort! Only in the hands of the gifted does it become supremely good. It had not yet been the language of any Goethe, any Lessing; though it stood on the eve of becoming such. It had already been the language of Luther, of Ulrich Hutten, Friedrich Barbarossa, Charlemagne and others. And several extremely important things had

been said in it, and some pleasant ones even sung in it, from an old date, in a very appropriate manner, — had Crown-Prince Friedrich known all that. But he could not reasonably be expected to know: — and the wiser Germans now forgive him for not knowing, and are even thankful that he did not.

CHAPTER II.

THE GERMAN ELEMENT.

So that, as we said, there are two elements for young Fritz, and highly diverse ones, from both of which he is to draw nourishment, and assimilate what he can. Besides that Edict-of-Nantes French element, and in continual contact and contrast with it, which prevails chiefly in the Female quarters of the Palace, — there is the native German element for young Fritz, of which the centre is Papa, now come to be King, and powerfully manifesting himself as such. An abrupt peremptory young King; and German to the bone. Along with whom, companions to him in his social hours, and fellow-workers in his business, are a set of very rugged German sons of Nature; differing much from the French sons of Art. Baron Grumkow, Leopold Prince of Anhalt-Dessau (not yet called the “*Old Dessauer*,” being under forty yet), General Glasenap, Colonel Derschau, General Flans; these, and the other nameless Generals and Officials, are a curious counterpart to the Camases, the Hautcharmoys and Forcades, with their nimble tongues and rapiers; still more to the Beausobres, Achards, full of ecclesiastical logic, made of Bayle and Calvin kneaded together; and to the high-frizzled ladies rustling in stiff silk, with the shadow

of Versailles and of the Dragonades alike present to them.

Born Hyperboreans these others; rough as hemp, and stout of fibre as hemp; native products of the rigorous North. Of whom, after all our reading, we know little. — O Heaven, they have had long lines of rugged ancestors, cast in the same rude stalwart mould, and leading their rough life there, of whom we know absolutely nothing! Dumb all those preceding busy generations; and this of Friedrich Wilhelm is grown almost dumb. Grim semi-articulate Prussian men; gone all to pipeclay and moustache for us. Strange blond-complexioned, not unbeautiful Prussian honourable women, in hoops, brocades, and unintelligible head-gear and hair-towers, — *ach Gott*, they too are gone; and their musical talk, in the French or German language, that also is gone; and the hollow Eternities have swallowed it, as their wont is, in a very surprising manner! —

Grumkow, a cunning, greedy-hearted, long-headed fellow, of the old Pomeranian Nobility by birth, has a kind of superficial polish put upon his Hyperboreans: he has been in foreign countries, doing legations, diplomacies, for which, at least for the vulpine parts of which, he has a turn. He writes and speaks articulate grammatical French; but neither in that, nor in native Pommerish Platt-Deutsch, does he show us much, except the depths of his own greed, of his own astucities and stealthy audacities. Of which we shall hear more than enough by and by.

Of the Dessauer, not yet "Old."

As to the Prince of Anhalt-Dessau, rugged man, whose very face is the colour of gunpowder, he also knows French, and can even write in it, if he like, — having duly had a Tutor of that nation, and strange adventures with him on the grand tour and elsewhere; — but does not much practise writing, when it can be helped. His children, I have heard, he expressly did not teach to read or write, seeing no benefit in that effeminate art, but left them to pick it up as they could. His Princess, all rightly ennobled now, — whom he would not but marry, though sent on the grand tour to avoid it, — was the daughter of one Fos an Apothecary at Dessau; and is still a beautiful and prudent kind of woman, who seems to suit him well enough, ~~no~~ worse than if she had been born a Princess. Much talk has been of her, in princely and other circles; nor is his marriage the only strange thing Leopold has done. He is a man to keep the world's tongue wagging, not too musically always; though himself of very unvocal nature. Perhaps the biggest mass of inarticulate human vitality, certainly one of the biggest, then going about in the world. A man of vast dumb faculty; dumb, but fertile, deep; no end of ingenuities in the rough head of him: — as much mother-wit there, I often guess, as could be found in whole talking parliaments, spouting themselves away in vocables and eloquent wind!

A man of dreadful impetuosity withal. Set upon

his will as the one law of Nature; storming forward with incontrollable violence: a very whirlwind of a man. He was left a minor; his Mother guardian. Nothing could prevent him from marrying this Fos the Apothecary's Daughter; no tears nor contrivances of his Mother, whom he much loved, and who took skilful measures. Fourteen months of travel in Italy; grand tour, with eligible French Tutor, — whom he once drew sword upon, getting some rebuke from him one night in Venice, and would have killed, had not the man been nimble, at once dextrous and sublime: — it availed not. The first thing he did on reëntering Dessau, with his Tutor, was to call at Apothecary Fos's, and see the charming Mamsell; to go and see his Mother, was the second thing. Not even his grand passion for war could eradicate Fos: he went to Dutch William's wars; the wise Mother still counselling, who was own Aunt to Dutch William, and liked the scheme. He besieged Namur; fought and besieged up and down, — with insatiable appetite for fighting and sieging; with great honour, too, and ambitions awakening in him; — campaign after campaign: but along with the flamy-thunderly ideal bride, figuratively called Bellona, there was always a soft real one, Mamsell Fos of Dessau, to whom he continued constant. The Government of his Dominions he left cheerfully to his Mother, even when he came of age: "I am for learning War, as the one right trade; do with all things as you please, Mamma, — only not with Mamsell, not with her!" —

Readers may figure this scene too, and shudder

over it. Some rather handsome male Cousin of Mamsell, Medical Graduate or whatever he was, had appeared in Dessau:—"Seems to admire Mamsell much; of course, in a Platonic way," said rumour. — "He? Admire?" thinks Leopold; — thinks a good deal of it, not in the philosophic mood. As he was one day passing Fos's, Mamsell and the Medical Graduate are visible, standing together at the window inside. Pleasantly looking-out upon Nature, — of course quite casually, say some Histories with a sneer. In fact, it seems possible this Medical Graduate may have been set to act shoeing-horn; but he had better not. Leopold storms into the House, "Draw, scandalous canaille, and defend yourself!" — And in this, or some such way, a confident tradition says, he killed the poor Medical Graduate there and then. One tries always to hope not: but Varnhagen is positive, though the other Histories say nothing of it. God knows. The man was a Prince; no Reichshofrath, Speyer-Wetzlar *Kammer*, or other Supreme Court, would much trouble itself, except with formal shakings of the wig, about such a peccadillo. In fine, it was better for Leopold to marry the Miss Fos; which he actually did (1698, in his twenty-second year), "with the left-hand," — and then with the right and both hands; having got her properly ennobled before long, by his splendid military services. She made, as we have hinted, an excellent Wife to him, for the fifty or sixty ensuing years.

This is a strange rugged specimen, this inarticulate Leopold; already getting mythic, as we can perceive,

to the polished vocal ages; which mix all manner of fables with the considerable history he has. Readers will see him turn-up again in notable forms. A man hitherto unknown except in his own country; and yet of very considerable significance to all European countries whatsoever; the fruit of his activities, without his name attached, being now manifest in all of them. He invented the iron ramrod; he invented the equal step; in fact he is the inventor of modern military tactics. Even so, if we knew it: the Soldier of every civilized country still receives from this man, on parade-fields and battle-fields, its word of command; out of his rough head proceeded the essential of all that the innumerable Drill-sergeants, in various languages, daily repeat and enforce. Such a man is worth some transient glance from his fellow-creatures, — especially with a little Fritz trotting at his foot, and drawing inferences from him.

Dessau, we should have said for the English reader's behoof, was and still is a little independent Principality; about the size of Huntingdonshire, but with woods instead of bogs; — revenue of it, at this day, is 60,000*l.*, was perhaps not 20, or even 10,000 in Leopold's first time. It lies some four-score miles south-west of Berlin, attainable by post-horses in a day. Leopold, as his Father had done, stood by Prussia as if wholly native to it. Leopold's Mother was Sister of that fine Louisa, the Great Elector's first Wife; his Sister is wedded to the Margraf of Schwedt, Friedrich Wilhelm's half-uncle. Lying in such neighbourhood,

and being in such affinity to the Prussian House, the Dessauers may be said to have, in late times, their headquarters at Berlin. Leopold and Leopold son's, as his Father before him had done, without neglecting their Dessau and Principality, hold by the Prussian Army as their main employment. Not neglecting Dessau either; but going thither in winter, or on call otherwise; Leopold least of all neglecting it, who neglects nothing that can be useful to him.

He is General Field-Marshal of the Prussian Armies, the foremost man in war-matters with this new King; and well worthy to be so. He is inventing, or brooding in the way to invent, a variety of things, — "iron ramrods" for one; a very great improvement on the fragile ineffective wooden implement, say all the Books, but give no date to it: — that is the first thing; and there will be others, likewise undated, but posterior, requiring mention by and by. Inventing many things; — and always well practising what is already invented, and known for certain. In a word, he is drilling to perfection, with assiduous rigour, the Prussian Infantry to be the wonder of the world. He has fought with them, too, in a conclusive manner; and is at all times ready for fighting.

He was in Malplaquet with them, if only as volunteer on that occasion. He commanded them in Blenheim itself; stood, in the right or Eugene wing of that famed Battle of Blenheim, fiercely at bay, when the Austrian Cavalry had all fled; — fiercely volleying, charging, dextrously wheeling and manœuvring;

sticking to his ground with a mastiff-like tenacity, — till Marlborough, and victory from the left, relieved him and others. He was at the Bridge of Cassano; where Eugene and Vendôme came to handgrips; — where Mirabeau's Grandfather, *Col-d'Argent*, got his six-and-thirty wounds, and was "killed" as he used to term it.* "The hottest fire I ever saw," said Eugene, who had not seen Malplaquet at that time. While *Col-d'Argent* sank collapsed upon the Bridge, and the horse charged over him, and again charged, and beat and were beaten three several times, — Anhalt-Dessau, impatient of such fiddling hither and thither, swashed into the stream itself with his Prussian Foot; swashed through it, waistdeep or breastdeep; and might have settled the matter, had not his cartridges got wetted. Old King Friedrich rebuked him angrily for his impetuosity in this matter, and the sad loss of men.

Then again he was at the Storming of the Lines of Turin, — Eugene's feat of 1706, and a most volcanic business; — was the first man that got over the entrenchment there. Foremost man; face all black with the smoke of gunpowder, only channelled here and there with rivulets of sweat; — not a lovely phenomenon to the French in the interior! Who still fought like madmen, but were at length driven into heaps, and obliged to run. A while before they ran, Anhalt-Dessau, noticing some Captain posted with his company in a likely situation, stepped aside to him for a moment, and asked, "Am I wounded, think you? — No? Then

* Carlyle's *Miscellanies*, iv. § Mirabeau.

have you anything to drink?" and deliberately "drank a glass of aquavitæ," the judicious Captain carrying a pocket-pistol of that sort, in case of accident; and likewise "eat, with great appetite, a bit of bread from one "of the soldiers' havresacks; saying, He believed the "heat of the job was done, and that there was no fear "now."* —

A man that has been in many wars; in whose rough head are schemes hatching. Any religion he has is of Protestant nature; but he has not much, — on the doctrinal side, very little. Luther's Hymn, *Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott*, he calls "God Almighty's grenadier-march." On joining battle, he audibly utters, with bared head, some growl of rugged prayer, far from orthodox at times, but much in earnest: that lifting of his hat, for prayer, is his last signal on such occasions. He is very cunning as required, withal; not disdaining the serpentine method when no other will do. With Friedrich Wilhelm, who is his second-cousin (Mother's grand-nephew, if the reader can count that), he is from of old on the best footing, and contrives to be his Mentor in many things besides War. Till his quarrel with Grumkow, of which we shall hear, he took the lead in political advising, too; and had schemes, or was thought to have, of which Queen Sophie was in much terror.

A tall, strongboned, hairy man; with cloudy brows, vigilant swift eyes; has "a bluish tint of skin," says

* *Des weltberühmten Leopoldi &c.* (Anonymous, by Ranft, cited above), pp. 42-45, 52, 65.

Wilhelmina, "as if the gunpowder still stuck to him." He wears long moustaches; triangular hat, plume and other equipments, are of thrifty practical size. Can be polite enough in speech; but hides much of his meaning, which indeed is mostly inarticulate, and not always joyful to the by-stander. He plays rough pranks, too, on occasion; and has a big horse-laugh in him, where there is a fop to be roasted, or the like. We will leave him for the present, in hope of other meetings.

Remarkable men, many of those old Prussian soldiers: of whom one wishes, to no purpose, that there had more knowledge been attainable. But the Books are silent; no painter, no genial seeing-man to paint with his pen, was there. Grim hirsute Hyperborean figures, they pass mostly mute before us: burly, surly; in moustaches, in dim uncertain garniture, of which the buff-belts and the steel are alone conspicuous. Growling in guttural Teutsch what little articulate meaning they had: spending, of the inarticulate, a proportion in games of chance, probably too in drinking beer; yet having an immense overplus which they do not so spend, but endeavour to utter in such working as there may be. So have the Hyperboreans lived from of old. From the times of Tacitus and Pytheas, not to speak of Odin and Japhet, what hosts of them have marched across Existence, in that manner; — and where is the memory that would, even if it could, speak of them all! —

We will hope the mind of our little Fritz has powers of assimilation. Bayle-Calvin logics, and shadows of Versailles, on this hand, and gunpowder Leopolds and inarticulate Hyperboreans on that: here is a wide diversity of nutriment, all rather tough in quality, provided for the young soul. Innumerable unconscious inferences he must have drawn in his little head! Prince Leopold's face, with the whiskers and blue skin, I find he was wont, at after-periods, to do in caricature, under the figure of a Cat's; — horror and admiration not the sole feelings raised in him by the Field-Marshal. — For bodily nourishment he had "beer-soup;" a decided Spartan tone prevailing, wherever possible, in the breeding and treatment of him.

And we need not doubt, by far the most important element of his education was the unconscious Apprenticeship he continually served to such a Spartan as King Friedrich Wilhelm. Of whose works and ways he could not help taking note, angry or other, every day and hour; nor in the end, if he *were* intelligent, help understanding them, and learning from them. A harsh Master and almost half-mad, as it many times seemed to the poor Apprentice; yet a true and solid one, whose real wisdom was worth that of all the others, as he came at length to recognise.

CHAPTER III.

FRIEDRICH WILHELM IS KING.

WITH the death of old King Friedrich, there occurred at once vast changes in the Court of Berlin; a total and universal change in the mode of living and doing business there. Friedrich Wilhelm, out of filial piety, wore at his Father's funeral the grand French peruke and other sublimities of French costume; but it was for the last time: that sad duty once done, he flung the whole aside, not without impatience, and on no occasion wore such costume again. He was not a friend to French fashions, nor had ever been; far the contrary. In his boyhood, say the Biographers, there was once a grand embroidered cloth-of-gold, or otherwise supremely magnificent, little Dressing-gown given him; but he would at no rate put it on, or be concerned with it; on the contrary, stuffed it indignantly "into the fire;" and demanded wholesome useful duffel instead.

He began his reform literally at the earliest moment. Being summoned into the apartment where his poor Father was in the last struggle, he could scarcely get across for *Kammerjunker*, *Kammerherrn*, Goldsticks, Silversticks, and the other solemn histrionic functionaries, all crowding there to do their sad mimicry on the

occasion: not a lovely accompaniment in Friedrich Wilhelm's eyes. His poor Father's death-struggle once done, and all reduced to everlasting rest there, Friedrich Wilhelm looked in silence over the Unutterable, for a short space, disregardful of the Goldsticks and their eager new homaging; walked swiftly away from it to his own room, shut the door with a slam; and there, shaking the tears from his eyes, commenced by a notable duty, — the duty nearest hand, and therefore first to be done, as it seemed to him. It was about one in the afternoon, 25th February 1713; his Father dead half-an-hour before: "Tears at a Father's deathbed, must they be dashed with rage by such a set of greedy Histrios?" thought Friedrich Wilhelm. He summoned these his Court-people, that is to say, summoned their *Ober-Hofmarschall* and representative; and through him signified to them, That, till the Funeral was over, their service would continue; and that, on the morrow after the Funeral, they were, every soul of them, discharged; and from the highest Goldstick down to the lowest Page-in-waiting, the King's House should be swept entirely clean of them; — said House intending to start afresh upon a quite new footing.* Which spread such a consternation among the courtier people, say the Histories, as was never seen before.

The thing was done, however; and nobody durst whisper discontent with it; this rugged young King, with his plangent metallic voice, with his steady-beam-

* Förster, i. 174; Pöllnitz, *Memoiren*, II. 4.

Carlyle, *Frederic the Great*. II.

ing eyes, seeming dreadfully in earnest about it, and a person that might prove dangerous if you crossed him. He reduced his Household accordingly, at once, to the lowest footing of the indispensable; and discharged a whole regiment of superfluous official persons, court-flunkies, inferior, superior and supreme, in the most ruthless manner. He does not intend keeping any *Ober-Hofmarschall*, or the like idle person, henceforth; thinks a minimum of Goldsticks ought to suffice every man.

Eight Lackeys, in the ante-chambers and elsewhere, these, with each a *Jägerbursch* (what we should call an *Under-keeper*) to assist when not hunting, will suffice: Lackeys at "eight *thalers* monthly," which is six shillings a week. Three active Pages, sometimes two, instead of perhaps three-dozen idle that there used to be. In King Friedrich's time, there were wont to be a Thousand saddle-horses at corn and hay: but how many of them were in actual use? Very many of them were mere imaginary quadrupeds; their price and keep pocketed by some knavish *Stallmeister*, Equerry or Head-groom. Friedrich Wilhelm keeps only Thirty horses; but these are very actual, not imaginary at all; their corn not running into any knave's pocket, but lying actually in the mangers here; getting ground for you into actual fourfooted speed, when, on turf or highway, you require such a thing. About thirty for the saddle, with a few carriage-teams, are what Friedrich Wilhelm can employ in any reasonable measure; and more he will not have about him.

In the like ruthless humour he goes over his Pension-list; strikes three-fourths of that away, reduces the remaining fourth to the very bone. In like humour, he goes over every department of his Administrative, Household and other Expenses; shears every thing down, here by the Hundred thalers, there by the Ten, willing even to save *half a thaler*. He goes over all this three several times; — his Papers, the three successive Lists he used on that occasion, have been printed.* He has satisfied himself, in about two months, what the effective minimum is; and leaves it so. Reduced to below the fifth of what it was; 55,000 *thalers*, instead of 276,000.**

By degrees he went over, went into and through, every department of Prussian Business, in that fashion; steadily, warily, irresistibly compelling every item of it, large and little, to take that same character of perfect economy and solidity, of utility pure and simple. Needful work is to be rigorously well done; needless work, and ineffectual or imaginary workers, to be rigorously pitched out of doors. What a blessing on this Earth; worth purchasing almost at any price! The money saved is something, nothing if you will: but the amount of mendacity expunged, has any one computed that? Mendacity not of tongue; but the far feller sort, of hand, and of heart, and of head; short summary of all Devil's-worship whatsoever. Which

* Rüdtenbeck: *Beiträge zur Bereicherung der Lebensbeschreibungen Friedrich Wilhelms I. und Friedrichs des Grossen* (Berlin, 1836), pp. 99-127.

** Stenzel, iii. 237.

spreads silently along, once you let it in, with full purse or with empty; some fools even praising it: the quiet *dry-rot* of Nations! To expunge such is greatly the duty of every man, especially of every King. Unconsciously, not thinking of Devil's-worship, or spiritual dry-rot, but of money chiefly, and led by Nature and the ways she has with us, it was the task of Friedrich Wilhelm's life to bring about this beneficent result in all departments of Prussian Business, great and little, public and even private. Year after year, he brings it to perfection; pushes it unweariedly forward every day and hour. So that he has Prussia, at last, all a Prussia made after his own image; the most thrifty, hardy, rigorous and Spartan country any modern King ever ruled over; and himself (if he thought of that) a King indeed. He that models Nations according to his own image, he is a King, though his sceptre were a walking-stick; and properly no other is.

Friedrich Wilhelm was wondered at, and laughed at, by innumerable mortals for his ways of doing; which indeed were very strange. Not that he figured much in what is called Public History, or desired to do so; for, though a vigilant ruler, he did not deal in protocolling and campaigning, — he let a minimum of that suffice him. But in court soirées, where elegant empty talk goes on, and of all materials for it scandal is found incomparably the most interesting, I suppose there turned-up no name oftener than that of his Prussian Majesty; and during these Twenty-seven years of his

Reign, his wild pranks and explosions gave food for continual talk in such quarters.

For he was like no other King that then existed, or had ever been discovered. Wilder Son of Nature seldom came into the artificial world; into a royal throne there, probably never. A wild man; wholly in earnest, veritable as the old rocks, — and with a terrible volcanic fire in him, too. He would have been strange anywhere; but among the dapper Royal gentlemen of the Eighteenth Century, what was to be done with such an Orson of a King? — Clap him in Bedlam, and bring out the ballot-boxes instead? The modern generation, too, still takes its impression of him from these rumours, — still more now from Wilhelmina's Book; which paints the outside savagery of the royal man, in a most striking manner; and leaves the inside vacant, undiscovered by Wilhelmina or the rumours.

Nevertheless it appears there were a few observant eyes, even of contemporaries, who discerned in him a surprising talent for "National Economics" at least. One Leipzig Professor, Saxon, not Prussian by nation or interest, recognises in Friedrich Wilhelm "*den grossen Wirth* (great Manager, Husbandry-man, or Landlord) of the epoch;" and lectures on his admirable "works, arrangements and institutions" in that kind.* Nay the dapper Royal gentlemen saw, with envy, the indubitable growth of this mad savage Brother; and ascribed it to "his avarice," to his mean ways, which were in

* Rüdtenbeck's *Beiträge* (p. 14), — Year, or Name of Lecturer, not mentioned.

such contrast to their sublime ones. That he understood National Economics, has now become very certain. His grim semiarticulate Papers and Rescripts, on these subjects, are still almost worth reading, by a lover of genuine human talent in the dumb form. For spelling, grammar, penmanship and composition, they resemble nothing else extant; are as if done by the paw of a bear: indeed the utterance generally sounds more like the growling of a bear, than anything that could be handily spelt or parsed. But there is a decisive human sense in the heart of it; and there is such a dire hatred of empty bladders, unrealities and hypocritical forms and pretences, what he calls "wind and humbug (*Wind und blauer Dunst*)," as is very strange indeed. Strange among all mankind; doubly and trebly strange among the unfortunate species called Kings in our time. To whom, — for sad reasons that could be given, — "wind and blue vapour (*blauer Dunst*)," artistically managed by the rules of Acoustics and Optics, seem to be all we have left us! —

It must be owned that this man is inflexibly, and with a fierce slow inexorable determination, set upon having realities round him. There is a divine-idea of fact put into him; the genus *sham* was never hatefuller to any man. Let it keep out of his way, well beyond the swing of that rattan of his, or it may get something to remember! A just man, too; would not wrong any man, nor play false in word or deed to any man. What is Justice but another form of the *reality* we love;

a truth acted out? Of all the humbugs or "painted vapours" known, Injustice is the least capable of profiting men or kings! A just man, I say; and a valiant and veracious: but rugged as a wild-bear; entirely inarticulate, as if dumb. No bursts of parliamentary eloquence in him, nor the least tendency that way. His talent for Stump-Oratory may be reckoned the minimum conceivable, or practically noted as *zero*. A man who would not have risen in modern Political Circles; man unchoosable at hustings or in caucus; man forever invisible, and very unadmirable if seen, to the Able-Editor and those that hang by him. In fact a kind of savage man, as we say; but highly interesting, if you can read dumb human worth; and of inexpressible profit to the Prussian Nation.

For the first ten years of his reign, he had a heavy continual struggle, getting his finance and other branches of administration extricated from their strangling imbroglios of coiled nonsense, and put upon a rational footing. His labour in these years, the first of little Fritz's life, must have been great; the pushing and pulling strong and continual. The good plan itself, this comes not of its own accord; it is the fruit of "genius" (which means transcendent capacity of taking trouble, first of all): given a huge stack of tumbled thrums, it is not in your sleep that you will find the vital centre of it, or get the first thrum by the end! And then the execution, the realising, amid the contradiction, silent or expressed, of men and things? Ex-

plosive violence was by no means Friedrich Wilhelm's method; the amount of slow stubborn broad-shouldered strength, in all kinds, expended by the man, strikes us as very great. The amount of patience even, though patience is not reckoned his forte.

That of the *Ritter-Dienst* (Knights'-Service), for example, which is but one small item of his business; the commuting of the old feudal duty of his Landholders to do Service in War-time, into a fixed money payment: nothing could be fairer, more clearly advantageous to both parties; and most of his "Knights" gladly accepted the proposal: yet a certain factious set of them, the Magdeburg set, stirred-up by some seven or eight of their number, "hardly above seven or eight really against me," saw good to stand out; remonstrated, recalcitrated; complained in the Diet (Kaiser too happy to hear of it, that he might have a hook on Friedrich Wilhelm); and for long years that paltry matter was a provocation to him.* But if your plan is just, and a bit of Nature's plan, persist in it like a law of Nature. This secret too was known to Friedrich Wilhelm. In the space of ten years, by actual human strength loyally spent, he had managed many things; saw all things in a course towards management. All things, as it were, fairly on the road; the multiplex team pulling one way, in rational human harness, not in imbroglios of coiled thrums made by the Nightmares.

* 1717-'25. Förster, ii. 162-165, iv. 31-34; Stenzel, iii. 316-319; Samuel Buchholz, *Neueste Preussisch-Brandenburgische Geschichte* (Berlin, 1775), i, 197.

How he introduced a new mode of farming his Domain Lands, which are a main branch of his revenue, and shall be farmed on regular lease henceforth, and not wasted in speculation and indolent mismanagement as heretofore;* new modes of levying his taxes and revenues of every kind:** How he at last concentrated, and harmonised into one easy-going effective *General Directory*,*** the multifarious conflicting Boards, that were jolting and jangling in a dark use-and-wont manner, and leaving their work half-done, when he first came into power:† How he insisted on having daylight introduced to the very bottom of every business, fair-and-square observed as the rule of it, and the shortest road adopted for doing it: How he drained bogs, planted colonies, established manufactures, made his own uniforms of Prussian wool, in a *Lagerhaus* of his own: How he dealt with the Jew Gompert about farming his Tobacco; — how, from many a crooked case and character he, by slow or short methods, brought out something straight; would take no denial of what was his, nor make any demand of what was not; and did prove really a terror to evil-doers of various kinds, especially to prevaricators, defalcators, imaginary workers, and slippery unjust persons: How he urged diligence on all mortals, would not have the very Applewomen sit “without knitting” at their stalls; and brandished his

* Förster, II. 206, 216.

** Ib. II. 190, 195.

*** Completed 19th January 1723 (Ib. II. 172).

† Dohm: *Denkwürdigkeiten meiner Zeit* (Lemgo und Hannover, 1814-1819), IV. 88,

stick, or struck it fiercely down, over the incorrigibly idle: — All this, as well as his ludicrous explosions and unreasonable violences, is on record concerning Friedrich Wilhelm, though it is to the latter chiefly that the world has directed its unwise attention, in judging of him. He was a very arbitrary King. But then a good deal of his *arbitrium*, or sovereign will, was that of the Eternal Heavens as well; and did exceedingly behove to be done, if the Earth would prosper. Which is an immense consideration in regard to his sovereign will and him! He was prompt with his rattan, in urgent cases; had his gallows also, prompt enough, where needful. Let him see that no mistakes happen, as certainly he means that none shall!

Yearly he made his country richer; and this not in money alone (which is of very uncertain value, and sometimes has no value at all, and even less), but in frugality, diligence, punctuality, veracity, — the grand fountains from which money, and all real *values* and valours, spring for men. To Friedrich Wilhelm, in his rustic simplicity, money had no lack of value; rather the reverse. To the homespun man it was a success of most excellent quality, and the chief symbol of success in all kinds. Yearly he made his own revenues, and his people's along with them, and as the source of them, larger: and in all states of his revenue, he had contrived to make his expenditure less than it; and yearly saved masses of coin, and "reposited them in barrels in the cellars of his Schloss," — where they proved very useful, one day. Much in Friedrich Wil-

helm proved useful, beyond even his expectations. As a Nation's *Husband* he seeks his fellow among Kings, ancient and modern. Happy the Nation which gets such a Husband, once in the half-thousand years. The Nation, as foolish wives and Nations do, repines and grudges a good deal, its weak whims and will being thwarted very often; but it advances steadily, with consciousness or not, in the way of well-doing; and after long times, the harvest of this diligent sowing becomes manifest to the Nation and to all Nations.

Strange as it sounds in the Republic of Letters, we are tempted to call Friedrich Wilhelm a man of genius; — genius fated and promoted to work in National Husbandry, not in writing Verses or three-volume Novels. A silent genius. His melodious stanza, which he cannot bear to see halt in any syllable, is a rough fact reduced to order; fact made to stand firm on its feet, with the world-rocks under it, and looking free towards all the winds and all the stars. He goes about suppressing platitudes, ripping-off futilities, turning deceptions inside-out. The realm of Disorder, which is Unveracity, Unreality, what we call Chaos, has no fiercer enemy. Honest soul, and he seemed to himself such a stupid fellow often; no tongue-learning at all; little capable to give a reason for the faith that was in him. He cannot argue in articulate logic, only in inarticulate bellowings, or worse. He must *do* a thing, leave it undemonstrated; once done, it will itself tell what kind of thing it is, by and by. Men of genius have a hard time, I perceive, whether born on the throne or off it;

and must expect contradictions next to unendurable, — the plurality of blockheads being so extreme!

I find, except Samuel Johnson, no man of equal veracity with Friedrich Wilhelm in that epoch: and Johnson too, with all his tongue-learning, had not logic *enough*. In fact, it depends on how much conviction you have. Blessed be Heaven, there is here and there a man born who loves truth as truth should be loved, with all his heart and all his soul; and hates untruth with a corresponding perfect hatred. Such men, in polite circles, which understand that certainly truth is better than untruth, but that you must be polite to both, are liable to get to the end of their logic. Even Johnson had a bellow in him; though Johnson could at any time withdraw into silence, *his* kingdom lying all under his own hat. How much more Friedrich Wilhelm, who had no logic whatever; and whose kingdom lay without him, far and wide, a thing he could not withdraw from. The rugged Orson, he needed to be right. From utmost Memel down to Wesel again, ranked in a straggling manner round the half-circumference of Europe, all manner of things and persons were depending on him, and on his being right, not wrong, in his notion.

A man of clear discernment, very good natural eyesight; and irrefragably confident in what his eyes told him, in what his belief was; — yet of huge simplicity withal. Capable of being coaxed about, and led by the nose, to a strange degree, if there were an artist dextrous enough, daring enough! His own natural

judgment was good, and, though apt to be hasty and headlong, was always likely to come right in the end; but internally, we may perceive, his modesty, self-distrust, anxiety and other unexpected qualities, must have been great. And then his explosiveness, impatience, excitability; his conscious dumb ignorance of all things beyond his own small horizon of personal survey! An Orson capable enough of being coaxed and tickled, by some first-rate conjuror; — first-rate; a second-rate might have failed, and got torn to pieces for his pains. But Seckendorf and Grumkow, what a dance they led him on some matters, — as we shall see, and as poor Fritz and others will see!

He was full of sensitiveness, rough as he was and shaggy of skin. His wild imaginations drove him hither and thither at a sad rate. He ought to have the privileges of genius. His tall Potsdam Regiment, his mad-looking passion for enlisting tall men: this also seems to me one of the whims of genius, — an exaggerated notion to have his “stanza” polished to the last punctilio of perfection; — and might be paralleled in the history of Poets. Stranger “man of genius,” or in more peculiar circumstances, the world never saw!

Friedrich Wilhelm, in his Crown-Prince days, and now still more when he was himself in the sovereign place, had seen all along, with natural arithmetical intellect, That his strength in this world, as at present situated, would very much depend upon the amount of potential-battle that lay in him, — on the quantity and

quality of Soldiers he could maintain, and have ready for the field at any time. A most indisputable truth, and a heartfelt one in the present instance. To augment the quantity, to improve the quality, in this thrice-essential particular: here lay the keystone and crowning summit of all Friedrich Wilhelm's endeavours; to which he devoted himself, as only the best Spartan could have done. Of which there will be other opportunities to speak in detail. For it was a thing world-notable; world-laughable, as was then thought; the extremely serious fruit of which did at length also become notable enough.

In the Malplaquet time, once on some occasion, it is said, two English Officers, not well informed upon the matter, and provoking enough in their contemptuous ignorance, were reasoning with one another in Friedrich Wilhelm's hearing, as to the warlike powers of the Prussian State, and Whether the King of Prussia could on his own strength maintain a standing army of 15,000? Without subsidies, do you think, so many as 15,000? Friedrich Wilhelm, incensed at the thing and at the tone, is reported to have said with heat: "Yes, 30,000!"* whereat the military men slightly wagged their heads, letting the matter drop for the present. But he makes it good by degrees; twofold or threefold; — and will have an army of from seventy to a hundred-thousand before he dies,** the best-drilled of fighting men; and

* Förster, i. 138.

** "72,000 field-troops, 30,000 garrison-troops" (*Gesandnisse eines Oesterreichischen Veterans*, Breslau, 1788, i. 64).

what adds much to the wonder, a full Treasury withal. This is the Brandenburg Spartan King; acquainted with National Economics. Alone of existing Kings, he lays-by money annually; and is laying-by many other and far more precious things, for Prussia and the little Boy he has here.

Friedrich Wilhelm's passion for drilling, recruiting and perfecting his Army attracted much notice: laughing satirical notice, in the hundred mouths of common rumour, which he regarded little; and notice iracund and minatory, when it led him into collision with the independent portions of mankind, now and then. This latter sort was not pleasant, and sometimes looked rather serious; but this too he contrived always to digest in some tolerable manner. He continued drilling and recruiting, — we may say not his Army only, but his Nation in all departments of it, — as no man before or since ever did; increasing, by every devisable method, the amount of potential-battle that lay in him and it.

In a military, and also in a much deeper sense, he may be defined as the great Drill-sergeant of the Prussian Nation. Indeed this had been the function of the Hohenzollerns all along; this difficult, unpleasant and indispensable one of drilling. From the first appearance of Burggraf Friedrich, with good words and with *Heavy Peg*, in the wreck of anarchic Brandenburg, and downwards ever since; this has steadily enough gone on. And not a little good drilling these populations have

had, first and last; just orders given them (wise and just, which to a respectable degree were Heaven's orders as well): and certainly Heavy Peg, for instance, — Heavy Peg, bringing Quitzow's strong House about his ears, — was a respectable drummer's-cat to enforce the same. This has been going on these Three-hundred years. But Friedrich Wilhelm completes the process; finishing it off to the last pitch of perfection. Friedrich Wilhelm carries it through every fibre and cranny of Prussian Business, and so far as possible, of Prussian Life; so that Prussia is all a drilled phalanx, ready to the word of command; and what we see in the Army is but the last consummate essence of what exists in the Nation everywhere. That was Friedrich Wilhelm's function, made ready for him, laid to his hand by his Hohenzollern foregoers; and indeed it proved a most beneficent function.

For I have remarked that, of all things, a Nation needs first to be drilled; and no Nation that has not first been governed by so-called "Tyrants," and held tight to the curb till it became perfect in its paces and thoroughly amenable to rule and law, and heartily respectful of the same, and totally abhorrent of the want of the same, ever came to much in this world. England itself, in foolish quarters of England, still howls and execrates lamentably over its William Conqueror, and rigorous line of Normans and Plantagenets; but without them, if you will consider well, what had it ever been? A gluttonous race of Jutes and Angles, capable of no grand combinations; lumbering about in potbellied

equanimity; not dreaming of heroic toil and silence and endurance, such as leads to the high places of this Universe, and the golden mountain-tops where dwell the Spirits of the Dawn. Their very ballotboxes and suffrages, what they call their "Liberty," if these mean "Liberty," and are such a road to Heaven, Anglo-Saxon highroad thither, — could never have been possible for them on such terms. How could they? Nothing but collision, intolerable interpressure (as of men *not* perpendicular), and consequent battle often supervening, could have been appointed those undrilled Anglo-Saxons; their potbellied equanimity itself continuing liable to perpetual interruptions, as in the Heptarchy time. An enlightened Public does not reflect on these things, at present; but will again, by and by. Looking with human eyes over the England that now is, and over the America and the Australia, from pole to pole; and then listening to the Constitutional litanies of Dryasdust, and his lamentations on the old Norman and Plantagenet Kings, and *his* recognition of departed merit and causes of effects, — the mind of man is struck dumb!

CHAPTER IV.

HIS MAJESTY'S WAYS.

FRIEDRICH WILHELM'S History is one of *Economics*; which study, so soon as there are Kings again in this world, will be precious to them. In that happy state of matters, Friedrich Wilhelm's History will well reward study; and teach by example, in a very simple and direct manner. In what is called the Political, Diplomatic, "Honour-to-be" department, there is not, nor can ever be, much to be said of him; this Economist King having always kept himself well at home, and looked steadily to his own affairs. So that, for the present, he has, as a King, next to nothing of what is called History: and it is only as a fellow-man, of singular faculty, and in a most peculiar and conspicuous situation, that he can be interesting to mankind. To us he has, as Father and daily teacher and master of young Fritz, a continual interest; and we must note the master's ways, and the main phenomena of the workshop as they successively turned-up, for the sake of the notable Apprentice serving there.

He was not tall of stature, this arbitrary King: a florid-complexioned stout-built man; of serious, sincere, authoritative face; his attitudes and equipments very Spartan in type. Man of short firm stature; stands (in

Pesne's best Portraits of him) at his ease, and yet like a tower. Most solid; "plumb and rather more;" eyes steadfastly awake; cheeks slightly compressed, too, which fling the mouth rather forward; as if asking silently, "Anything astir, then? All right here?" Face, figure and bearing, all in him is expressive of robust insight, and direct determination; of healthy energy, practicality, unquestioned authority, — a certain air of royalty reduced to its simplest form. The face, in Pictures by Pesne and others, is not beautiful or agreeable; healthy, genuine, authoritative, is the best you can say of it. Yet it may have been, what it is described as being, originally handsome. High-enough arched brow, rather copious cheeks and jaws; nose smallish, inclining to be stumpy; large gray eyes, bright with steady fire and life, often enough gloomy and severe, but capable of jolly laughter too. Eyes "naturally with a kind of laugh in them," says Pöllnitz; — which laugh can blaze-out into fearful thunderous rage, if you give him provocation. Especially if you lie to him; for that he hates above all things. Look him straight in the face: he fancies he can see in *your* eyes, if there is an internal mendacity in you: wherefore you must look at him in speaking; such is his standing order.

His hair is flaxen, falling into the ashgray or darker; fine copious flowing hair, while he wore it natural. But it soon got tied into clubs, in the military style; and at length it was altogether cropped away, and replaced by brown, and at last by white, round

wigs. Which latter also, though bad wigs, became him not amiss, under his cocked-hat and cockade, says Pöllnitz.* The voice, I guess, even when not loud, was of clangorous and penetrating, quasi-metallic nature; and I learn expressly once, that it had a nasal quality in it.** His majesty spoke through the nose; snuffled his speech, in an earnest ominously plangent manner. In angry moments, which were frequent, it must have been — unpleasant to listen to. For the rest, a handsome man of his inches; conspicuously well-built in limbs and body, and delicately finished-off to the very extremities. His feet and legs, says Pöllnitz, were very fine. The hands, if he would have taken care of them, were beautifully white; fingers long and thin; a hand at once nimble to grasp, delicate to feel, and strong to clutch and hold: what may be called a beautiful hand, because it is the usefullest.

Nothing could exceed his Majesty's simplicity of habitudes. But one loves especially in him his scrupulous attention to cleanliness of person and of environment. He washed like a very Mussulman, five times a day; loved cleanliness in all things, to a superstitious extent; which trait is pleasant in the rugged man, and indeed of a piece with the rest of his character. He is gradually changing all his silk and other cloth room-furniture; in his hatred of dust, he will not suffer a floor-carpet, even a stuffed chair; but insists on having all of wood, where the dust may be prosecuted

* Pöllnitz: *Memoiren* (Berlin, 1791), II. 568.

** Büchling: *Beiträge*, I. 568.

to destruction.* Wife and womankind, and those that take after them, let such have stuffing and sofas: he, for his part, sits on mere wooden chairs; — sits, and also thinks and acts, after the manner of a Hyperborean Spartan, which he was. He ate heartily, but as a rough farmer and hunter eats; country messes, good roast and boiled; despising the French Cook, as an entity without meaning for him. His favourite dish at dinner was bacon and greens, rightly dressed; what could the French Cook do for such a man? He ate with rapidity, almost with indiscriminate violence; his object not quality but quantity. He drank too, but did not get drunk; at the Doctor's order he could abstain; and had in later years abstained. Pöllnitz praises his fineness of complexion, the originally eminent whiteness of his skin, which he had tanned and bronzed by hard riding and hunting, and otherwise worse discoloured by his manner of feeding and digesting: alas, at last his waistcoat came to measure, I am afraid to say how many Prussian ells, — a very considerable diameter indeed!**

For some years after his accession, he still appeared occasionally in "burgher dress," or unmilitary clothes; "brown English coat, yellow waistcoat" and the other indispensables. But this fashion became rarer with him every year; and ceased altogether (say Chronologists) about the year 1719: after which he appeared always simply as Colonel of the Potsdam Guards (his own Lifeguard Regiment) in simple Prussian uni-

* Förster, i. 208.

** Förster, i. 163.

form: close military coat; blue, with red cuffs and collar, buff waistcoat and breeches, white linen gaiters to the knee. He girt his sword about the loins, well out of the mud; walked always with a thick bamboo in his hand. Steady, not slow of step; with his triangular hat, cream-white round wig (in his older days), and face tending to purple, — the eyes looking-out mere investigation, sharp swift authority, and dangerous readiness to rebuke and set the cane in motion: — it was so he walked abroad in this earth; and the common run of men rather fled his approach than courted it.

For, in fact, he was dangerous; and would ask in an alarming manner, "Who are you?" Any fantastic, much more any suspicious-looking person, might fare the worse. An idle loungee at the street-corner he has been known to hit over the crown; and peremptorily despatch: "Home, Sirrah, and take to some work!" That the Apple-women be encouraged to knit, while waiting for custom; — encouraged and quietly constrained, and at length packed away, and their stalls taken from them, if unconstrainable, — there has, as we observed, an especial rescript been put forth; very curious to read.*

Dandiacal figures, nay people looking like Frenchmen, idle flaunting women even, — better for them to be going. "Who are you?" and if you lied or prevaricated ("*Er blicke mich gerade an*, Look me in the face, then!"), or even stumbled, hesitated, and gave

* In Rüdtenbeck: *Beiträge*, p. 15.

suspicion of prevaricating, it might be worse for you. A soft answer is less effectual than a prompt clear one, to turn away wrath. "A *Candidatus Theologiæ*, your Majesty," answered a handfast threadbare youth one day, when questioned in this manner. — "Where from?" "Berlin, your Majesty." — "Hm, na, the Berliners are a good-for-nothing set." "Yes, truly, too many of them; but there are exceptions; I know two." — "Two? which then?" "Your Majesty and myself!" — Majesty burst into a laugh: the *Candidatus* was got examined by the Consistoriums, and Authorities proper in that matter, and put into a chaplaincy.

This King did not love the French, or their fashions, at all. We said he dismissed the big Peruke, — put it on for the last time at his Father's funeral, so far did filial piety go; and then packed it aside, dismissing it, nay banishing and proscribing it, never to appear more. The Peruke, and, as it were, all that the Peruke symbolised. For this was a King come into the world with quite other aims than that of wearing big perukes, and, regardless of expense, playing burst-frog to the ox of Versailles, which latter is itself perhaps a rather useless animal. Of Friedrich Wilhelm's taxes upon wigs; of the old "Wig-inspectors," and the feats they did, plucking-off men's periwigs on the street, to *see* if the government-stamp were there, and to discourage wiggery, at least all but the simple scratch or useful Welsh-wig, among mankind:

of these, and of other similar things, I could speak; but do not. This little incident, which occurred once in the review-ground on the outskirts of Berlin, will suffice to mark his temper in that respect. It was in the spring of 1719; our little Fritz then six years old, who of course heard much temporary confused commentary, direct and oblique, triumphant male laughter, and perhaps rebellious female sighs, on occasion of such a feat.

Count Rothenburg, Prussian by birth,* an accomplished and able person in the diplomatic and other lines of business, but much used to Paris and its ways, had appeared lately in Berlin, as French Envoy, — and, not unnaturally, in high French costume; cocked-hat, peruke, laced coat, and the other trimmings. He, and a group of dashing followers and adherents, were accustomed to go about in that guise; very capable of proving infectious to mankind. What is to be done with them? thinks the anxious Father of his People. They were to appear at the ensuing grand Review, as Friedrich Wilhelm understood. Whereupon Friedrich Wilhelm took his measures in private. Dressed-up, namely, his Scavenger-Executioner people (what they call *Profösse* in Prussian regiments) in an enormous exaggeration of that costume; cocked-hats about an ell in diameter, wigs reaching to the houghs, with other fittings to match: these, when Count Rothenburg and his company appeared upon the ground, Friedrich Wilhelm summoned out, with some trumpet-peal or burst

* Buchholz; *Neueste Preussisch-Brandenburgische Geschichte*, i. 28.

of field-music; and they solemnly crossed Count Rothenburg's field of vision; the strangest set of Phantasms he had seen lately. Awakening salutary reflections in him.* Fancy that scene in History; Friedrich Wilhelm for comic-symbolic Dramaturgist. Gods and men (or at least Houyhnhnm horses) might have saluted it with a Homeric laugh, — so huge and vacant is it, with a suspicion of real humour too: — but the men were not permitted, on parade, more than a silent grin, or general irrepressible rustling murmur; and only the gods laughed inextinguishably, if so disposed. The Scavenger-Executioners went back to their place; and Count Rothenburg took a plain German costume, so long as he continued in those parts.

Friedrich Wilhelm has a dumb rough wit and mockery, of that kind, on many occasions; not without geniality in its Brobdignag exaggeration and simplicity. Like a wild-bear of the woods taking his sport; with some sense of human in the rough skin of him. Very capable of seeing through sumptuous costumes; and respectful of realities alone. Not in French sumptuousness, but in native German thrift, does this King see his salvation; so has Nature constructed him: and the world, which has long lost its Spartans, will see again an original North-German Spartan; and shriek a good deal over him; Nature keeping her own counsel the while, and as it were, laughing in her sleeve at the

* Förster, i. 165; Fassmann, *Leben und Thaten des allerdurchdachtigsten &c. Königs von Preussen Frederici Wilhelmi* (Hamburg und Breslau, 1733), pp. 223, 319.

shrieks of the flunkey world. For Nature, when she makes a Spartan, means a good deal by it; and does not expect instant applauses, but only gradual and lasting.

"For my own part," exclaims a certain Editor once, "I perceive well there was never yet any great Empire founded, Roman, English, down to Prussian or Dutch, nor in fact any great mass of work got achieved under the Sun, but it was founded even upon this humble-looking quality of Thrift, and became achievable in virtue of the same. Which will seem a strange doctrine, in these days of gold-nuggets, railway-fortunes, and miraculous sumptuosities regardless of expense. Earnest readers are invited to consider it, nevertheless. Though new, it is very old; and a sad meaning lies in it to us of these times! That you have squandered in idle fooleries, building where there was no basis, your Hundred-thousand Sterling, your Eight-hundred Million Sterling, is to me a comparatively small matter. You may still again become rich, if you have at last become wise. But if you have wasted your capacity of strenuous devoutly valiant labour, of patience, perseverance, self-denial, faith in the causes of effects; alas, if your once just judgment of what is worth something and what is worth nothing, has been wasted, and your silent steadfast reliance on the general veracities, of yourself and of things, is no longer there, — then indeed you have had a loss! You are, in fact, an entirely bankrupt individual; as you will find by and by. Yes; and though you had California in fee-simple; and could buy all the upholsteries, groceries, funded-properties, temporary (very temporary) landed-properties of the world, at one swoop, it would avail you nothing. Henceforth for you no harvests in the Seedfield of this Universe, which reserves its

"salutary bounties, and noble heaven-sent gifts, for quite other than you; and I would not give a pin's value for all you will ever reap there. Mere imaginary harvests, sacks of nuggets and the like; empty as the east-wind; — with all the Demons laughing at you! Do you consider that Nature too is a swollen flunkey, hungry for vails; and can be taken-in with your sublime airs of sumptuosity, and the large balance you actually have in Lombard-street? Go to the — General Cesspool, with your nuggets and your ducats!"

The flunkey world, much stript of its plush and fat perquisites, accuses Friedrich Wilhelm bitterly of avarice and the cognate vices. But it is not so; intrinsically, in the main, his procedure is to be defined as honourable thrift, — verging towards avarice here and there; as poor human virtues usually lean to one side or the other! He can be magnificent enough too, and grudges no expense, when the occasion seems worthy. If the occasion is inevitable, and yet not quite worthy, I have known him have recourse to strange shifts. The Czar Peter, for example, used to be rather often in the Prussian Dominions, oftenest on business of his own: such a man is to be royally defrayed while with us; yet one would wish it done cheap. Posthorses, "two-hundred and eighty-seven at every station," he has from the Community; but the rest of his expenses, from Memel all the way to Wesel? Friedrich Wilhelm's marginal response to his *Finanz-Directorium*, requiring orders once on that subject, runs in the following strange tenour: "Yes, all the way (except Berlin, which I take upon myself);

and observe, you contrive to do it for 6,000 thalers (900*l.*)," — which is uncommonly cheap, about 1*l.* per mile; — "won't allow you one other penny (*nit einen Pfennig gebe mehr dazu*); but you are (*sollen Sie*)," this is the remarkable point, "to give out in the world that it costs me from Thirty to Forty Thousand!"* So that here is the Majesty of Prussia, who beyond all men abhors lies, giving orders to tell one? Alas, yes; a kind of lie, or fib (white fib, or even *gray*), the pinch of Thrift compelling! But what a window into the artless inner-man of his Majesty, even that *gray* fib; — not done by oneself, but ordered to be done by the servant, as if that were cheaper!

"Verging upon avarice," sure enough: but, unless we are unjust and unkind, he can by no means be described as a *Miser* King. He collects what is his; gives you accurately what is yours. For wages paid he will see work done: he will ascertain more and more that the work done be work needful for him; and strike it off, if not. A Spartan man, as we said, — though probably he knew as little of the Spartans as the Spartans did of him. But Nature is still capable of such products: if in Hellas long ages since, why not in Brandenburg now?

* 1717: Förster, i. 213.

CHAPTER V.

FRIEDRICH WILHELM'S ONE WAR.

ONE of Fritz's earliest strong impressions from the outer world chanced to be of War, — so it chanced, though he had shown too little taste that way, and could not, as yet, understand such phenomena; — and there must have been much semi-articulate questioning and dialoguing with Dame de Roucouilles, on his part, about the matter now going on.

In the year 1715, little Fritz's third year, came grand doings, not of drill only, but of actual war and fighting: the "Stralsund Expedition," Friedrich Wilhelm's one feat in that kind. Huge rumour of which fills naturally the maternal heart, the Berlin Palace drawing-rooms; and occupies, with new vivid interests, all imaginations young and old. For the actual battle-drums are now beating, the big cannon-wains are creaking under way; and military men take farewell, and march, tramp, tramp; Majesty in grenadier-guard uniform at their head: horse, foot and artillery; northward to Stralsund on the Baltic shore, where a terrible human Lion has taken-up his lair lately. Charles XII. of Sweden, namely; he has broken-out of Turkish Bender or Demotica, and ended his obstinate torpor; at last; has ridden fourteen or sixteen days, he and a groom or two, through desolate steppes and mountain

wildernesses, through crowded dangerous cities; — “came by Vienna and by Cassel; then through Pommern;” leaving his “royal train of two-thousand persons” to follow at its leisure. He, for his part, has ridden without pause, forward, ever forward, in darkest incognito, the indefatigable man; — and finally, on Old-Hallowmas Eve (22d-11th November 1714), far in the night, a Horseman, with two others still following him, travel-splashed, and “white with snow,” drew bridle at the gate of Stralsund; and, to the surprise of the Swedish sentinel there, demanded instant admission to the Governor. The Governor, at first a little surly of humour, saw gradually how it was; sprang out of bed, and embraced the knees of the snowy man; Stralsund in general sprang out of bed, and illuminated itself, that same Hallow-Eve: — and in brief, Charles XII., after five years of eclipse, has reappeared upon the stage of things; and menaces the world, in his old fashion, from that City. From which it becomes urgent to many parties, and at last to Friedrich Wilhelm himself, that he be dislodged.

The root of this Stralsund story belongs to the former reign, as did the grand apparition of Charles XII. on the theatre of European History, and the terror and astonishment he created there. He is now thirty-three years old; and only the winding-up, both of him and of the Stralsund story, falls within our present field. Fifteen years ago, it was like the bursting of a cataract of bombshells in a dull ballroom, the sudden appearance

of this young fighting Swede among the luxurious Kings and Kinglets of the North, all lounging about and languidly minuetting in that manner, regardless of expense! Friedrich IV. of Denmark rejoicing over red-wine; August the Strong gradually producing his "three-hundred and fifty-four bastards;"* these and other neighbours had confidently stepped in, on various pretexts; thinking to help themselves from the young man's properties, who was still a minor; when the young minor suddenly developed himself as a major and maximus, and turned-out to be such a Fire-King among them!

In consequence of which there had been no end of Northern troubles; and all through the Louis-Fourteenth or Marlborough grand "Succession War," a special "Northern War" had burnt or smouldered on its own score; Swedes *versus* Saxons, Russians and Danes, bickering in weary intricate contest, and keeping those Northern regions in smoke if not on fire. Charles XII., for the last five years (ever since Pultawa, and the summer of 1709), had lain obstinately dormant in Turkey; urging the Turks to destroy Czar Peter. Which they absolutely could not, though they now and then tried; and Viziers not a few lost their heads in consequence. Charles lay sullenly dormant; Danes meanwhile operating upon his Holstein interests and adjoining territories; Saxons, Russians battering continually at Swedish Pommern, continually marching thither, and then marching home again, without suc-

* *Mémoires de Bareith* (Wilhelmina's Book, Londres, 1812), I. 111.

cess, — always through the Brandenburg Territory, as they needs must. Which latter circumstance Friedrich Wilhelm, while yet only Crown-Prince, had seen with natural displeasure, could that have helped it. But Charles XII. would not yield a whit; sent orders peremptorily, from his bed at Bender or Demotica, that there must be no surrender. Neither could the sluggish enemy compel surrender.

So that, at length, it had grown a feeble wearisome welter of inextricable strifes, with worn-out combatants, exhausted of all but their animosity; and seemed as if it would never end. Inveterate ineffective war; ruinous to all good interests in those parts. What miseries had Holstein from it, which last to our own day! Mecklenburg also it involved in sore troubles, which lasted long enough, as we shall see. But Brandenburg, above all, may be impatient; Brandenburg, which has no business with it except that of unlucky neighbourhood. One of Friedrich Wilhelm's very first operations, as King, was to end this ugly state of matters, which he had witnessed with impatience, as Prince, for a long while.

He had hailed even the Treaty of Utrecht with welcome, in hopes it might at least end these Northern brabbles. This the Treaty of Utrecht tried to do, but could not: however, it gave him back his Prussian Fighting Men; — which he has already increased by six regiments, raised, we may perceive, on the ruins of his late court-flunkies and dismissed goldsticks: — with these Friedrich Wilhelm will try to end it himself.

These he at once ordered to form a Camp on his frontier, close to that theatre of contest; and signified now with emphasis, in the beginning of 1713, that he decidedly wished there were peace in those Pommern regions. Negotiations in consequence;* very wide negotiations, Louis XIV. and the Kaiser lending hand, to pacify these fighting Northern Kings and their Czar: at length the Holstein Government, representing their sworn ally, Charles XII., on the occasion, made an offer which seemed promising. They proposed that Stettin and its dependencies, the strong frontier Town, and, as it were, key of Swedish Pommern, should be evacuated by the Swedes, and be garrisoned by neutral troops, Prussians and Holsteiners in equal number; which neutral troops shall prohibit any hostile attack of Pommern from without, Sweden engaging not to make any attack through Pommern from within. That will be as good as peace in Pommern, till we get a general Swedish Peace. With which Friedrich Wilhelm gladly complies.**

Unhappily, however, the Swedish Commandant in Stettin would not give-up the place, on any representative or secondary authority; not without an express order in his King's own hand. Which, as his King was far away, in abstruse Turkish circumstances and localities, could not be had at the moment; and involved new difficulties and uncertainties, new delay which might itself be fatal. The end was, the Russians and

* 10th June 1713: Buchholz, l. 21.

** 22d June 1713: Buchholz, l. 21.

Saxons had to cannonade the man out by regular siege; they then gave-up the Town to Prussia and Holstein; but required first to be paid their expenses incurred in sieging it, — 400,000 thalers, as they computed and demonstrated, or somewhere about 60,000*l.* of our money.

Friedrich Wilhelm paid the money (Holstein not having a groschen); took possession of the Town, and dependent towns and forts; intending well to keep them till repaid. This was in October 1713; and ever since, there has been actual tranquillity in those parts: the embers of the Northern War may still burn or smoulder elsewhere, but here they are quite extinct. At first, it was a joint possession of Stettin, Holsteiners and Prussians in equal number; and if Friedrich Wilhelm had been sure of his money, so it would have continued. But the Holsteiners had paid nothing; Charles XII.'s sanction never could be expressly got, and the Holsteiners were mere dependents of his. Better to increase our Prussian force, by degrees; and, in some good way, with a minimum of violence, get the Holsteiners squeezed out of Stettin? Friedrich Wilhelm has so ordered, and contrived. The Prussian force having now gradually increased to double in this important garrison, the Holsteiners are quietly disarmed, one night, and ordered to depart, under penalties; — which was done. Holding such a pawn-ticket as Stettin, buttoned in our own pocket, we count now on being paid our 60,000*l.* before parting with it.

Matters turned-out as Friedrich Wilhelm had dreaded

they might. Here is Charles XII. come back; inflexible as cold Swedish Iron; will not hear of any Treaty dealing with his properties in that manner: Is he a bankrupt, then, that you will sell his towns by auction? Charles does not, at heart, believe that Friedrich Wilhelm ever really paid the 60,000*l.*; Charles demands, for his own part, to have his own Swedish Town of Stettin restored to him; and has not the least intention, or indeed ability, to pay money. Vain to answer: "Stettin, for the present, is not a Swedish Town; it is a Prussian Pawn-ticket!" — There was much negotiation, correspondence; Louis XIV. and the Kaiser stepping-in again to produce settlement. To no purpose. Louis, gallant old Bankrupt, tried hard to take Charles's part with effect. But he had, himself, no money now; could only try finessing by ambassadors, try a little menacing by them; neither of which profited. Friedrich Wilhelm, wanting only peace on his borders, after fifteen years of extraneous uproar there, has paid 60,000*l.* in hard cash to have it: repay him that sum, with promise of peace on his borders, he will then quit Stettin; till then not. Big words, from a French Ambassador in big wig, will not suffice: "Bullying goes for nothing (*Bange machen gilt nicht*)," — the thing covenanted-for will need to be done! Poor Louis the Great, whom we now call "*Bankrupt-Great*," died while these affairs were pending; while Charles, his ally, was arguing and battling against all the world, with only a grandiloquent Ambassador to help him from Louis. "*J'ai trop aimé la guerre*," said Louis at

his death, addressing a new small Louis (five-years old), his great-grandson and successor: "I have been too fond of war; do not imitate me in that, *ne m'imites pas en celà*."* Which counsel also, as we shall see, was considerably lost in air.

Friedrich Wilhelm had a true personal regard for Charles XII., a man made in many respects after his own heart; and would fain have persuaded him into softer behaviour. But it was to no purpose. Charles would not listen to reasons of policy; or believe that his estate was bankrupt, or that his towns could be put in pawn. Danes, Saxons, Russians, even George I. of England (George having just bought, of the Danish King, who had got hold of it, a great Hanover bargain, Bremen and Verden, on cheap terms, from the quasi-bankrupt estate of poor Charles), — have to combine against him, and see to put him down. Among whom Prussia, at length actually attacked by Charles in the Stettin regions, has reluctantly to take the lead in that repressive movement. On the 28th of April 1715, Friedrich Wilhelm declares war against Charles; is already on march, with a great force, towards Stettin, to coerce and repress said Charles. No help for it, so sore as it goes against us: "Why will the very King whom I most respect compel me to be his enemy?" said Friedrich Wilhelm.**

One of Friedrich Wilhelm's originalities is his fare-

* 1st September 1715.

** *Euvres de Frédéric (Histoire de Brandebourg)*, i. 182; Buchholz, i. 25.

well Order and Instruction, to his Three chief Ministers, on this occasion. Ilgen, Dohna, Prinzen, tacit dusky figures, whom we meet in Prussian Books, and never gain the least idea of, except as of grim, rather cunning, most reserved antiquarian gentlemen, — a kind of human iron-safes, solemnly filled (under triple and quadruple patent-locks) with what, alas, has now all grown waste-paper, dust and cobweb, to us: — these Three reserved cunning Gentlemen are to keep a thrice-watchful eye on all subordinate boards and persons, and see well that nobody nod or do amiss. Brief weekly report to his Majesty will be expected; staffettes, should cases of hot haste occur: any questions of yours are “to be put on a sheet of paper folded-down, to which I can write marginalia:” if nothing particular is passing, “*nicht schreiben*, you don’t write.” Pay-out no money, except what falls due by the Books; none; — if an extraordinary case for payment arise, consult my Wife, and she must sign her order for it. Generally in matters of any moment, consult my Wife; but her only, “except her and the Privy Councillors, “no mortal is to poke into my affairs:” I say no mortal, “*sonst kein Mensch*.”

“My Wife shall be told of all things,” he says elsewhere, “and counsel asked of her.” The rugged Paterfamilias, but the human one! “And as I am a man,” continues he, “and may be shot dead, I command you “and all to take care of Fritz (*für Fritz zu sorgen*), as “God shall reward you. And I give you all, Wife to “begin with, my curse (*meinen Fluch*), that God may

"punish you in Time and Eternity, if you do not, after my death," — do what, O Heavens? — "bury me in the vault of the Schlosskirche," Palace-Church at Berlin! "And you shall make no grand to-do (*kein Festin*) on the occasion. On your body and life, no festivals and ceremonials, except that the regiments "one after the other fire a volley over me." Is not this an ursine man-of-genius, in some sort, as we once defined him? He adds suddenly, and concludes: "I am assured you will manage everything with all the exactness in the world; for which I shall ever zealously, as long as I live, be your friend."*

Russians, Saxons affected to intend joining Friedrich Wilhelm in his Pommern expedition; and of the latter there did, under a so-called Field-Marshal von Wackerbarth, of high plumes and titles, some four-thousand, — of whom only Colonel von Seckendorf, commanding one of the horse-regiments, is remarkable to us, — come and serve. The rest, and all the Russians, he was as well pleased to have at a distance. Some sixteen-thousand Danes joined him, too, with the King of Denmark at their head; very furious, all, against the Swedish-iron Hero; but they were remarked to do almost no real service, except at sea a little against the Swedish ships. George I. also had a fleet in the Baltic; but only "to protect English commerce." On the whole, the Siege of Stralsund, to which the Campaign pretty soon reduced itself, was done mainly

* 26th April 1715: Cosmarn und Klaproths *Staatsrath*, s. 223 (in Stenzel, II. 269).

by Friedrich Wilhelm. He staid two months in Stettin, getting all his preliminaries completed: his good Queen, Wife "Feeekin," was with him, for some time, I know not whether now or afterwards. In the end of June, he issued from Stettin; took the interjacent outpost places; and then opened ground before Stralsund, where, in a few days more, the Danes joined him. It was now the middle of July: a combined army of well-nigh Forty-thousand against Charles; who, to man his works, musters about the fourth part of that number.*

Stralsund, with its outer lines and inner, with its marshes, ditches, ramparts and abundant cannon to them, and leaning, one side of it, on the deep sea, which Swedish ships command as yet, is very strong. Wallenstein, we know, once tried it with furious assault, with bombardment, sap and storm; swore he would have it, "though it hung by a chain from Heaven;" but could not get it, after all his volcanic raging; and was driven away, partly by the Swedes and armed Townsfolk, chiefly by the marsh-fevers and continuous rains. Stralsund has been taken, since that, by Prussian sieging; as old men, from the Great Elector's time, still remember.** To Louis Fourteenth's menacing Ambassador, Friedrich Wilhelm seems to intimate that indeed big bullying words will not take it, but that Prussian guns and men, on a just ground, still may.

* Pauli, viii. 85-101; Buchholz, i. 31-39; Förster, ii. 34-39; Stenzel, iii. 272-278.

** 10th-15th October 1678 (Pauli, v. 203, 205).

The details of this Siege of Stralsund are all on record, and had once a certain fame in the world; but except as a distant echo, must not concern us here. It lasted till mid-winter, under continual fierce counter-movements and desperate sallies from the Swedish Lion, standing at bay there against all the world. But Friedrich Wilhelm was vigilance itself; and he had his Anhalt-Dessaus with him, his Borcks, Buddenbrocks, Finkensteins, veteran men and captains, who had learned their art under Marlborough and Eugene. The Lion King's fierce sallies, and desperate valour, could not avail. Point after point was lost for him. Köppen, a Prussian Lieutenant-Colonel, native to the place, who has bathed in those waters in his youth, remembers that, by wading to the chin, you could get round the extremity of Charles's main outer line. Köppen states his project, gets it approved of; — wades accordingly, with a select party, under cloud of night (4th of November, eve of Gunpowder-day, a most cold-hot job); other ranked Prussian battalions awaiting intently outside, with shouldered firelock, invisible in the dark, what will become of him. Köppen wades successfully; seizes the first battery of said line, — masters said line with its batteries, the outside battalions and he. Irrepressibly, with horrible uproar from without and from within; the flying Swedes scarcely getting-up the Town-drawbridge, as he chased them. That important line is lost to Charles.

Next they took the Isle of Rügen from him, which shuts-up the harbour. Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau, our

rugged friend, in Danish boats, which were but ill navigated, contrives, about a week after that Köppen feat, to effect a landing on Rügen, at nightfall; beats-off the weak Swedish party; — entrenches, palisades himself to the teeth, and lies down under arms. That latter was a wise precaution. For, about four in the morning, Charles comes in person, with eight pieces of cannon and four-thousand horse and foot: Charles is struck with amazement at the palisade and ditch (*"Mein Gott, who would have expected this!"* he was heard murmuring); dashes, like a fire-flood, against ditch and palisade; tears at the pales himself, which prove impregnable to his cannon and him. He storms and rages forward, again and again, now here, now there; but is met everywhere by steady deadly musketry; and has to retire, fruitless, about daybreak, himself wounded, and leaving his eight cannons, and four-hundred slain.

Poor Charles, there had been no sleep for him that night, and little for very many nights: "on getting to "horse, on the shore at Stralsund, he fainted repeatedly; fell out of one faint into another; but such was "his rage, he always recovered himself, and got on "horseback again."* Poor Charles: a bit of right royal Swedish-German stuff, after his kind; and tragically ill bested now at last! This is his exit he is now making, — still in a consistent manner. It is fifteen years now since he waded ashore at Copenhagen, and first heard the bullets whistle round him,

* Buchholz, i. 36,

Since which time, what a course has he run; crashing athwart all manner of ranked armies, diplomatic combinations, right onward, like a cannon-ball; tearing-off many solemn wigs in those Northern parts, and scattering them upon the winds, — even as he did his own full-bottom wig, impatiently, on that first day at Copenhagen, finding it unfuthersome for actual business in battle.*

In about a month hence, the last important hornwork is forced; Charles, himself seen fiercely fighting on the place, is swept back from his last hornwork; and the general storm, now altogether irresistible, is evidently at hand. On entreaty from his followers, entreaty often renewed, with tears even (it is said) and on bended knees, Charles at last consents to go. He left no orders for surrender; would not name the word; "left only ambiguous vague orders." But on the 19th December 1715, he does actually depart; gets on board a little boat, towards a Swedish frigate, which is lying above a mile out; the whole road to which, between Rügen and the mainland, is now solid ice, and has to be cut as he proceeds. This slow operation, which lasted all day, was visible, and its meaning well known, in the besiegers' lines. The King of Denmark saw it; and brought a battery to bear upon it; his thought had always been, that Charles should be captured or killed in Stralsund, and not allowed to get away. Friedrich Wilhelm was of quite another mind, and had even used secret influences to that effect;

* Köhler: *Münzbelustigungen*, xiv. 213.

eager that Charles should escape. It is said, he remonstrated very passionately with the Danish King and this battery of his; nay, some add, since remonstrances did not avail, and the battery still threatened to fire, Friedrich Wilhelm drew-up a Prussian regiment or two at the muzzles of it, and said, You shall shoot us first, then.* Which is a pleasant myth at least; and symbolical of what the reality was.

Charles reached his frigate about nightfall, but made little way from the place, owing to defect of wind. They say, he even heard the chamade beating in Stralsund next day, and that a Danish frigate had nearly taken him; both which statements are perhaps also a little mythical. Certain only that he vanished at this point into Scandinavia; and general Europe never saw him more. Vanished into a cloud of untenable schemes, guided by Alberoni, Baron Görtz and others; wild schemes, financial, diplomatic, warlike, nothing not chimerical in them but his own unquenchable real energy; — and found his death (by assassination, as appears) in the trenches of Frederickshall, among the Norway Hills, one winter night, three years hence. Assassination instigated by the Swedish Official Persons, it is thought. The bullet passed through both his temples; he had clapt his hand upon the hilt of his sword, and was found leant against the parapet, in that attitude, — gone upon a long march now. So vanished Charles Twelfth; the distressed Official Persons and Nobility exploding upon him in that rather damnable

* Buchholz, p. 138 n.

way, — anxious to slip their muzzles at any cost whatever. A man of antique character; true as a child, simple, even bashful, and of a strength and valour rarely exemplified among men. Open-hearted Antique populations would have much worshipped such an Appearance; — Voltaire, too, for the artificial Moderns, has made a myth of him, of another type; one of those impossible cast-iron gentlemen, heroically mad, such as they show in the Playhouses, pleasant but not profitable, to an undiscerning Public.* The last of the Swedish Kings died in this way; and the unmuzzled Official Persons have not made much of kinging it in his stead. Charles died; and, as we may say, took the life of Sweden along with him; for it has never shone among the Nations since, or been much worth mentioning, except for its misfortunes, spasmodic impotences and unwisdoms.

Stralsund instantly beat the chamade, as we heard; and all was surrender and subjection in those regions: Surrender; not yet pacification, not while Charles lived: nor for half-a-century after his death, could Mecklenburg, Holstein-Gottorp, and other his confederates, escape a sad coil of calamities bequeathed by him to them. Friedrich Wilhelm returned to Berlin, victorious from his first, which was also his last, Prussian War, in January 1716; and was doubtless a happy man, not "to be buried in the Schlosskirche (under penalty of

* See Alderfeld (*Military History of Charles XII.* London, 1740, 2 vols., "from the Swedish," through the French) and Kühler (*Münzbezeichnungen*, ubi supra), for some authentic traits of his life and him.

God's curse)," but to find his little Fritz and Feekin, and all the world, merry to see him, and all things put square again, abroad as at home. He forbade the "triumphal entry" which Berlin was preparing for him; entered privately; and ordered a thanksgiving-sermon in all the churches next Sunday.

The Devil in harness: Creutz the Finance-Minister.

In the King's absence nothing particular had occurred, — except indeed the walking of a dreadful Spectre, three nights over, in the corridors of the Palace at Berlin; past the doors where our little Prince and Wilhelmina slept: bringing with it not airs from Heaven, we may fear, but blasts from the Other place! The stalwart sentries shook in their paces, and became "half-dead" from terror. "A horrible noise, one night," says Wilhelmina, "when all were buried in sleep: all the "world started up, thinking it was fire; but they were "much surprised to find that it was a Spectre." Evident Spectre, seen to pass this way, "and glide along that "gallery, as if towards the apartments of the Queen's "Ladies." Captain of the Guard could find nothing in that gallery, or anywhere, and withdrew again: — but lo, it returns the way it went! Stalwart sentries were found melted into actual deliquium of swooning, as the Preternatural swept by this second time. "They said, "It was the Devil in person; raised by Swedish wizards "to kill the Prince-Royal." * Poor Prince-Royal; sleep-

* Wilhelmina; *Mémoires de Barceith*, 1. 18.

ing sound, we hope; little more than three years old at this time, and knowing nothing of it! — All Berlin talked of the affair. People dreaded it might be a "Spectre" of Swedish tendencies; aiming to burn the Palace, spirit-off the Royal Children, and do one knew not what?

Not that at all, by any means! The Captain of the Guard, reinforcing himself to defiance even of the Preternatural, does, on the third or fourth apparition, clutch the Spectre; finds him to be — a prowling Scullion of the Palace, employed here he will not say how; who is straight-way locked in prison, and so exorcised at least. Exorcism is perfect; but Berlin is left guessing as to the rest, — secret of it discoverable only by the Queen's Majesty and some few most interior parties. To the following effect.

Spectre-Scullion, it turns out, had been employed by Grumkow, as spy upon one of the Queen's Maids of Honour, — suspected by him to be a No-maid of Dishonour, and of ill-intentions too, — who lodges in that part of the Palace; of whom Herr Grumkow wishes intensely to know, "Has she an intrigue with Creutz the new Finance-Minister, or has she not?" "Has, beyond doubt!" the Spectre-Scullion hopes he has discovered, before exorcism. Upon which Grumkow, essentially illuminated as to the required particular, manages to get the Spectre-Scullion loose again, not quite hanged; glozing the matter off to his Majesty on his return: for the rest, ruins entirely the Creutz speculation; and has the No-maid called of Honour, — with

whom Creutz thought to have seduced the young King also, and made the young King amenable, — dismissed from Court in a peremptory irrefragable manner. This is the secret of the Spectre-Scullion, fully revealed by Wilhelmina many years after.

This one short glance into the Satan's Invisible-World of the Berlin Palace, we could not but afford the reader, when an actual Goblin of it happened to be walking in our neighbourhood. Such an Invisible-World of Satan exists in most human Houses, and in all human Palaces; — with its imps, familiar-demons, spies, go-betweens, and industrious bad-angels, continually mounting and descending by *their* Jacob's-Ladder, or Palace Backstairs: operated upon by Conjurors of the Grumkow-Creutz or other sorts. Tyrannous Mamsell Leti,* treacherous Mamsell Ramen, valet-surgeon Eversmann, and plenty more: readers of Wilhelmina's Book are too well acquainted with them. Nor are expert Conjurors wanting; capable to work strange feats with so plastic an element as Friedrich Wilhelm's mind. Let this one short glimpse of such Subterranean World be sufficient indication to the reader's fancy.

Creutz was not dismissed, as some people had ex-

* Leti, Governess to Wilhelmina, but soon dismissed for insolent cruelty and other bad conduct, was daughter of that Gregorio Leti ("Protestant Italian" Refugee, "Historiographer of Amsterdam," &c. &c.), who once had a pension in this country; and who wrote History Books, a *Life of Cromwell* one of them, so regardless of the difference between true and false.

pected he might be. Creutz continues Finance-Minister; makes a great figure in the fashionable Berlin world in these coming years, and is much talked-of in the old Books, — though, as he works mostly underground, and merely does budgets and finance-matters with extreme talent and success, we shall hope to hear almost nothing more of him. Majesty, while Crown-Prince, when he first got his regiment from Papa, had found this Creutz "Auditor" in it; a poor but handsome fellow, with perhaps seven shillings a week to live upon; but with such a talent for arranging, for reckoning and recording, in brief for controlling finance, as more and more charmed the royal mind.*

One of Majesty's first acts was to appoint him Finance-Minister; ** and there he continued steady, not to be overset by little flaws of wind like this of the Spectre-Scullion's raising. It is certain he did, himself, become rich; and helped well to make his Majesty so. We are to fancy him his Majesty's bottleholder in that battle with the Finance Nightmares and Imbroglions, when so much had to be subjugated, and drilled into step, in that department. Evidently a longheaded cunning fellow; much of the Grumkow type; — standing very low in Wilhelmina's judgment; and ill-seen, when not avoidable altogether, by the Queen's Majesty. "The man was a poor Country Bailiff's (*Amtmann's*,

* Mauvillon ("Elder Mauvillon," *Anonymous*): *Histoire de Frédéric Guillaume I*, par M. de M *** (Amsterdam et Leipzig, 1741), i. 47. A vague flimsy Compilation; — gives abundant "State Papers" (to such as want them), and echoes of old Newspaper rumour. Very copious on Creutz.

** 4th May 1713: *Preuss*, i. 349 n.

"kind of Tax-manager's) son: from Auditor of a regiment," Papa's own regiment, "he had risen to be "Director of Finance, and a Minister of State. His "soul was as low as his birth; it was an assemblage of "all the vices,"* says Wilhelmina, in the language of exaggeration. — Let him stand by his budgets; keep well out of Wilhelmina's and the Queen's way; — and very especially beware of coming on Grumkow's field again.

* Wilhelmina, i. 16.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LITTLE DRUMMER.

THIS Siege of Stralsund, the last military scene of Charles XII., and the *first* ever practically heard-of by our little Fritz, who is now getting into his fourth year, and must have thought a great deal about it in his little head, — Papa and even Mamma being absent on it, and such a marching and rumouring going on all round him, — proved to be otherwise of some importance to little Fritz.

Most of his Tutors were picked-up by the careful Papa in this Stralsund business. Duhan de Jandun, a young French gentleman, family-tutor to General Count Dohna (a cousin of our Minister Dohna's), but fonder of fighting than of teaching grammar; whom Friedrich Wilhelm found doing soldier's work in the trenches, and liked the ways of; he, as the foundation-stone of tutorage, is to be first mentioned. And then Count Fink von Finkenstein, a distinguished veteran, high in command (of whose qualities as Head-Tutor, or occasional travelling-guardian, Friedrich Wilhelm had experience in his own young days*); and Lieutenant-

* *Biographisches Lexikon aller Helden und Militairpersonen, welche sich in Preussischen Diensten berühmt gemacht haben* (4 vols. Berlin, 1788), i. 418, § Finkenstein. — A praiseworthy, modest, highly correct Book, of its kind; which we shall, in future, call *Militair-Lexikon*, when referring to it.

Colonel Kalkstein, a prisoner-of-war from the Swedish side, whom Friedrich Wilhelm, judging well of him, adopts into his own service with this view: these Three come all from Stralsund Siege; and were of vital moment to our little Fritz in the subsequent time. Colonel Seckendorf, again, who had a command in the Four-thousand Saxons here, and refreshed into intimacy a transient old acquaintance with Friedrich Wilhelm, — is not he too of terrible importance to Fritz and him? As we shall see in time! —

For the rest, here is another little incident. We said it had been a disappointment to Papa that his little Fritz showed almost no appetite for soldiering, but found other sights more interesting to him than the drill-ground. Sympathise, then, with the earnest Papa, as he returns home one afternoon, — date not given, but to all appearance, of that year 1715, when there was such war-rumouring, and marching towards Stralsund; — and found the little Fritz, with Wilhelmina looking over him, strutting about, and assiduously beating a little drum.

The paternal heart ran-over with glad fondness, invoking Heaven to confirm the omen. Mother was told of it; the phenomenon was talked of, — beautifullest, hopefullest of little drummers. Painter Pesne, a French Immigrant, or Importee, of the last reign, a man of great skill with his brush, whom History yet thanks on several occasions, was sent for; or he heard of the incident, and volunteered his services. A Portrait of

little Fritz drumming, with Wilhelmina looking on; to which, probably for the sake of colour and pictorial effect, a Blackamoor, aside with tray in hand, grinning approbation, has been added, — was sketched, and dextrously worked-out in oil, by Painter Pesne. Picture approved by mankind there and then. And it still hangs on the wall, in a perfect state in Charlottenburg Palace; where the judicious tourist may see it without difficulty, and institute reflections on it.

A really graceful little Picture; and certainly, to Prussian men, not without weight of meaning. Nor perhaps to Picture-Collectors and Cognoscenti generally, of whatever country, — if they could forget, for a moment, the coreggiosity of Coreggio, and the learned babble of the Sale-room and varnishing Auctioneer; and think, "Why it is, probably, that Pictures exist in this world, and to what end the divine art of Painting was bestowed, by the earnest gods, upon poor mankind?" I could advise it, once, for a little! Flaying of Saint Bartholomew, Rape of Europa, Rape of the Sabines, Piping and Amours of goat-footed Pan, Romulus suckled by the Wolf: all this, and much else of fabulous, distant, unimportant, not to say impossible, ugly and unworthy, shall pass without undue severity of criticism, in a Household of such opulence as ours, where much goes to waste, and where things are not on an earnest footing for this long while past! As Created Objects, or as Phantasms of such, pictorially done, all this shall have much worth, or shall have little. But I say, Here withal is one not phantasmal;

of indisputable certainty, homegrown, just commencing business, who carried it far!

Fritz is still, if not in "long-clothes," at least in longish and flowing clothes, of the petticoat sort, which look as of dark-blue velvet, very simple, pretty and appropriate; in a cap of the same; has a short raven's feather in the cap; and looks up, with a face and eyes full of beautiful vivacity and child's enthusiasm, one of the beautifullest little figures, while the little drum responds to his bits of drum-sticks. Sister Wilhelmina, taller by some three years, looks on in pretty stooping attitude, and with a graver smile. Blackamoor, and room-furniture elegant enough; and finally the figure of a grenadier, on guard, seen far off through an open window, — make-up the background.

We have Engravings of this Picture; which are of clumsy poor quality, and misrepresent it much: an excellent Copy in oil, what might be called almost a facsimile and the perfection of a Copy, is now (1854) in Lord Ashburton's Collection here in England. In the Berlin Galleries, — which are made-up, like other Galleries, of goat-footed Pan, Europa's Bull, Romulus's She-Wolf, and the coreggiosity of Coreggio; and contain, for instance, no Portrait of Friedrich the Great; no Likenesses at all, or next to none at all, of the noble series of Human Realities, or of any part of them, who have sprung *not* from the idle brains of dreaming Dilettanti, but from the Head of God Almighty, to make this poor authentic Earth a little memorable for us, and to do a little work that may be eternal

there: — in those expensive Halls of "High Art" at Berlin, there were, to my experience, few Pictures more agreeable than this of Pesne's. Welcome, like one tiny islet of Reality amid the shoreless sea of Phantasms, to the reflective mind, seriously loving and seeking what is worthy and memorable, seriously hating and avoiding what is the reverse, and intent not to play the dilettante in this world.

The same Pesne, an excellent Artist, has painted Friedrich as Prince-Royal: a beautiful young man; with *moist-looking* enthusiastic eyes of extraordinary brilliancy, smooth oval face; considerably resembling his Mother. After which period, authentic Pictures of Friedrich are sought-for to little purpose. For, it seems, he never sat to any Painter, in his reigning days; and the Prussian Chodowiecki,* Saxon Graff, English Cunningham, had to pick-up his physiognomy from the distance, intermittently, as they could. Nor is Rauch's grand equestrian Sculpture a thing to be believed, or perhaps pretending much to be so. The commonly-received Portrait of Friedrich, which all German limners can draw at once, — the cocked-hat, big eyes and alert air, reminding you of some uncommonly brisk Invalid Drill-sergeant or Greenwich Pensioner, as much as of a Royal Hero, — is nothing but a general extract and average of all the faces of Friedrich, such as has been tacitly agreed upon; and is definable as a received

* Pronounce *Kodov-yetaki*; — and endeavour to make some acquaintance with this 'Prussian Hogarth,' who has real worth and originality.

pictorial-myth, by no means as a fact, or credible resemblance of life.

But enough now of Pictures. This of the Little Drummer, the painting and the thing painted which remain to us, may be taken as Friedrich's first appearance on the stage of the world; and welcomed accordingly. It is one of the very few visualities or definite certainties we can lay hold of, in those young years of his, and bring conclusively home to our imagination, out of the waste Prussian dustclouds of uninformative garrulity which pretend to record them for us. Whether it came into existence as a shadowy emanation from the Stralsund Expedition, can only be matter of conjecture. To judge by size, these figures must have been painted about the year 1715; Fritz some three or four years old, his sister Wilhelmina seven.

It remains only to be intimated, that Friedrich Wilhelm, for his part, had got all he claimed from this Expedition: namely, Stettin with the dependent Towns, and quietness in Pommern. Stettin was, from of old, the capital of his own part of Pommern; thrown in along with the other part of Pommern, and given to Sweden (from sheer necessity, it was avowed), at the Peace of Westphalia, sixty years ago or more: — and now, by good chance, it has come back. Wait another hundred years, and perhaps Swedish Pommern altogether will come back! But from all this Friedrich Wilhelm is still far. Stettin and quiet are all he dreams of demanding there.

Stralsund he did not reckon his; left it with the Danes, to hold in pawn till some general Treaty. Nor was there farther outbreak of war in those regions; though actual Treaty of Peace did not come till 1720, and make matters sure. It was the new Queen of Sweden, Ulrique Eleonora (Charles's younger Sister, wedded to the young Landgraf of Hessen-Cassel), — much aided by an English Envoy, — who made this Peace with Friedrich Wilhelm. A young English Envoy, called Lord Carteret, was very helpful in this matter; one of his first feats in the diplomatic world. For which Peace* Friedrich Wilhelm was so thankful, good pacific armed-man, that, happening to have a Daughter born to him just about that time, he gave the little creature her Swedish Majesty's name; a new "Ulrique," who grew to proper stature, and became notable in Sweden, herself, by and by.**

* Stockholm, 21st January 1720: in Mauvillon (l. 380-417) the Document itself at large.

** Louisa Ulrique, born 24th July 1720; Queen of Sweden in time coming.

CHAPTER VII.

TRANSIT OF CZAR PETER.

IN the autumn of 1717, Peter the Great, coming home from his celebrated French journey, paid Friedrich Wilhelm a visit; and passed four days at Berlin. Of which let us give one glimpse, if we can with brevity.

Friedrich Wilhelm and the Czar, like in several points, though so dissimilar in others, had always a certain regard for one another; and at this time, they had been brought into closer intercourse by their common peril from Charles XII., ever since that Stralsund business. The peril was real, especially with a Görtz and Alberoni putting hand to it; and the alarm, the rumour, and uncertainty were great in those years. The wounded Lion driven indignant into his lair, with Plotting Artists now operating upon the rage of the noble animal: who knows what spring he will next take?

George I. had a fleet cruising in the Baltic Sounds, and again a fleet; — paying, in that oblique way, for Bremen and Verden; which were got, otherwise, such a bargain to his Hanover. Czar Peter had marched an Army into Denmark; united Russians and Danes count Fifty-thousand there; for a conjunct invasion, and probable destruction, of Sweden: but that came

to nothing; Charles looking across upon it too dangerously, "visible in clear weather over from the Danish side."* So Peter's troops have gone home again; Denmark too glad to get them away. Perhaps they would have staid in Denmark altogether; much liking the green pastures and convenient situation, — had not Admiral Norris with his cannon been there! Perhaps? And the Pretender is coming again, they say? And who knows what is coming? — How Görtz, in about a year hence, was laid hold of, and let go, and then ultimately tried and beheaded (once his lion Master was disposed of),** how, Ambassador Cellamare, and the Spanish part of the Plot, having been discovered in Paris, Cardinal Alberoni at Madrid was discovered, and the whole mystery laid bare: all that mad business, of bringing the Pretender into England, throwing-out George I., throwing-out the Regent d'Orleans, and much more, — is now sunk silent enough, not worthy of reawakening; but it was then a most loud matter; filling the European Courts, and especially that of Berlin, with rumours and apprehensions. No wonder Friedrich Wilhelm was grateful for that Swedish Peace of his, and named his little Daughter "Ulrique" in honour of it. Tumultuous cloud-world of Lapland Witchcraft had ceased hereby, and daylight had begun: old women (or old Cardinals) riding through the sky, on broomsticks, to meet Satan, where now

* 1716: Fassmann, p. 171.

** 19th March 1719: see Köhler (*Münzbelustigungen*, vi. 232-240, xvii. 297-304) for many curious details of Görtz and his end.

are they? The fact still dimly perceptible is, Europe, thanks to that pair of Black-Artists, Görtz and Alberoni, not to mention Law the Finance-Wizard and his French incantations, had been kept generally, for those three or four years past, in the state of a Haunted House; riotous Goblins, of unknown dire intent, walking now in this apartment of it, now in that; no rest anywhere for the perturbed inhabitants.

As to Friedrich Wilhelm, his plan, in 1717, as all along in this bewitched state of matters, was: To fortify his Frontier Towns; Memel, Wesel, to the right and left; especially to fortify Stettin, his new acquisition; — and to put his Army, and his Treasury (or *Army-Chest*), more and more in order. In that way we shall better meet whatever goblins there may be, thinks Friedrich Wilhelm. Count Lottum, hero of the Prussians at Malplaquet, is doing his scientific uttermost in Stettin and those Frontier Towns. For the rest, his Majesty, invited by the Czar and France, has been found willing to make paction with them, as he is with all pacific neighbours. In fact, the Czar and he had their private Conference, at Havelberg, last year, — Havelberg, some sixty miles from Berlin, on the road towards Denmark, as Peter was passing that way; — ample Conference of five days;* — privately agreeing there, about many points conducive to tranquillity.

And it was on that same errand, though ostensibly

* 23-28th November 1716: *Fassmann*, p. 172.

to look after Art and the higher forms of Civilisation so-called, that Peter had been to France on this celebrated occasion of 1717. We know he saw much Art withal; saw Marly, Trianon and the grandeurs and politenesses; — saw, among other things “a Medal of “himself fall accidentally at his feet;” polite Medal “just getting struck in the Mint, with a Rising Sun on “it; and the motto, *VIRE ACQUIRIT EUNDO*.”* Ostensibly it was to see *cette belle France*; but privately withal the Czar wished to make his bargain, with the Régent d’Orléans, as to these goblins walking in the Northern and Southern parts, and what was to be done with them. And the result has been, the Czar, Friedrich Wilhelm and the said Regent have just concluded an Agreement;** undertaking, in general, that the goblins shall be well watched; that they Three will stand-by one another in watching them. And now the Czar will visit Berlin in passing homewards again. That is the position of affairs, when he pays this visit. Peter had been in Berlin more than once before; but almost always in a succinct rapid condition; never with his “Court” about him till now. This is his last, and by far his greatest, appearance in Berlin.

Such a transit, of the Barbaric semi-fabulous Sovereignities, could not but be wonderful to everybody

* Voltaire: *Œuvres Complètes (Histoire du Czar Pierre)*, xxi. 336. — Köhler, in *Münzbelustigungen*, xvii. 386-392 (this very Medal the subject), gives authentic account, day by day, of the Czar’s visit there.

** 4th August 1717: Buchholz, i. 42.

there. It evidently struck Wilhelmina's fancy, now in her ninth year, very much. What her little Brother did in it, or thought of it, I nowhere find hinted; conclude only that it would remain in his head too, visible occasionally to the end of his life. Wilhelmina's Narrative, very loose, dateless or misdated, plainly wrong in various particulars, has still its value for us: human eyes, even a child's, are worth something, in comparison to human want-of-eyes, which is too frequent in History-books and elsewhere! — Czar Peter is now fifty-five, his Czarina Catherine about thirty-three. It was in 1698 that he first passed this way, going towards Sardam and practical Shipbuilding: within which twenty years, what a spell of work done! Victory of Pultawa is eight years behind him;* victories in many kinds are behind him: by this time he is to be reckoned a triumphant Czar; and is certainly the strangest mixture of heroic virtue and brutish Samoidic savagery the world at any time had.

It was Sunday, 19th September 1717, when the Czar arrived in Berlin. Being already sated with scenic parades, he had begged to be spared all ceremony; begged to be lodged in Monbijou, the Queen's little Garden-Palace, with river and trees round it, where he hoped to be quietest. Monbijou has been set apart accordingly; the Queen, not in the benignest humour, sweeping all her crystals and brittle things away; knowing the manners of the Muscovites. Nor in the way of ceremony was there much: King and

* 27th June 1709.

Queen drove-out to meet him; rampart-guns gave three big salvoes, as the Czarish Majesty stepped forth. "I am glad to see you, my Brother Friedrich," said Peter, in German, his only intelligible language; shaking hands with the Brother Majesty, in a cordial human manner. The Queen he, still more cordially, "would have kissed;" but this she evaded, in some graceful, effective way. As to the Czarina, — who, for *obstetric* and other reasons, of no moment to us, had staid in Wesel all the time he was in France, — she followed him now at two-days distance; not along with him, as Wilhelmina has it. Wilhelmina says, she kissed the Queen's hand, and again and again kissed it; begged to present her Ladies, — "about four-hundred so-called Ladies, who were of her Suite." — Surely not so many as Four-hundred, you too-witty Princess? "Mere German 'serving-maids for most part,'" says the witty Princess; "Ladies when there is occasion, then acting as chamber-maids, cooks, washerwomen, when that is over."

Queen Sophie was averse to salute these creatures; but the Czarina Catherine making reprisals upon our Margravines, and the King looking painfully earnest in it, she prevailed upon herself. Was there ever seen such a travelling tagraggery of a Sovereign Court before? "Several of these creatures" (*presque toutes*, says the exaggerative Princess) "had, in their arms, a 'baby in rich dress; and if you asked, 'Is that yours, 'then?' they answered, making salaams in Russian 'style, 'The Czar did me the honour (*m'a fait l'honneur* 'de me faire cet enfant)!'" —

Which statement, if we deduct the due 25 per-cent, is probably not mythic, after all. A day or two ago, the Czar had been at Magdeburg, on his way hither, intent upon inspecting matters there; and the Official Gentlemen, — President Cocceji (afterwards a very celebrated man) at the head of them, — waited on the Czar, to do what was needful. On entering, with the proper Address or complimentary Harangue, they found his Czarish Majesty "standing between two Russian Ladies," clearly Ladies of the above sort; for they stood close by him, one of his arms was round the neck of each, and his hands amused themselves by taking liberties in that posture, all the time Cocceji spoke. Nay, even this was as nothing among the Magdeburg phenomena. Next day, for instance, there appeared in the audience-chamber a certain Serene high-pacing Duke of Mecklenburg, with his Duchess; — thrice-unfortunate Duke, of whom we shall too often hear again; who after some adventures, under Charles XII. first of all, and then under the enemies of Charles, had, about a year ago, after divorcing his first Wife, married a Niece of Peter's: — Duke and Duchess arrive now, by order or gracious invitation of their Sovereign Uncle, to accompany him in those parts; and are announced to an eager Czar, giving audience to his select Magdeburg public. At sight of which most desirable Duchess and Brother's Daughter, how Peter started up, satyr-like, clasping her in his arms, and snatching her into an inner room, with the door left ajar, and there — It is too Samoiedic for human speech; and would excel

belief, were not the testimony so strong.* A Duke of Mecklenburg, it would appear, who may count himself the *Non-plus-ultra* of Husbands, in that epoch; — as among Sovereign Rulers, too, in a small or great way, he seeks his fellow for ill luck!

Duke and Duchess accompanied the Czar to Berlin, where Wilhelmina mentions them, as presentees; part of these "four-hundred" anomalies. They took the Czar home with them to Mecklenburg: where indeed some Russian Regiments of his, left here on their return from Denmark, had been very useful in coercing the rebellious Rittershaft (*Knightage*, or Landed-Gentry) of this Duke, — till at length the general outcry, and voice of the Reich itself, had ordered the said Regiments to get on march again, and take themselves away.** For all is rebellion, passive-rebellion, in Mecklenburg; taxes being so indispensable; and the Knights so disinclined; and this Duke a Sovereign, — such as we may construe from his quarrelling with almost everybody, and his *not* quarrelling with an Uncle Peter of that kind.*** His troubles as Sovereign Duke, his flights to Dantzic, oustings, returns, law-pleadings and foolish confusions, lasted all his life, thirty years to come; and were bequeathed as a sorrowful legacy to Posterity and

* Pölinits (*Memoiren*, li. 95) gives Friedrich Wilhelm as voucher, "who used to relate it as from eye-and-ear witnesses."

** The last of them, "July 1717;" two months ago. (*Michaelis*, li. 418.)

*** One poor hint, on his behalf, let us not omit: "*Wife* quitted him in 1719, and lived at Moscow afterwards!" (General Mannstein: *Memoirs of Russia*, London, 1770, p. 27 n.)

the neighbouring Countries. Voltaire says, the Czar wished to buy his Duchy from him.* And truly, for this wretched Duke, it would have been good to sell it at any price: but there were other words than his to such a bargain, had it ever been seriously meditated. By this extraordinary Duchess, he becomes Father (real or putative) of a certain Princess, whom we may hear of; and through her again is Grandfather of an unfortunate Russian Prince, much bruited about, as "the murdered Iwan," in subsequent times. With such a Duke and Duchess let our acquaintance be the *minimum* of what necessity compels.

Wilhelmina goes by hearsay hitherto; and, it is to be hoped, had heard nothing of these Magdeburg-Mecklenburg phenomena; but after the Czarina's arrival, the little creature saw with her own eyes:

"Next day," that is Wednesday 22d, "the Czar and his Spouse came to return the Queen's visit; and I saw the Court "myself." Palace Grand-Apartments; Queen advancing a due length, even to the outer guard-room; giving the Czarina her right hand, and leading her into her audience-chamber in that distinguished manner: King and Czar followed close; — and here it was that Wilhelmina's personal experiences began. "The Czar at once recognised me, having seen me before five "years ago" (March 1713). "He caught me in his arms; fell "to kissing me, like to flay the skin off my face. I boxed his "ears, sprawled, and struggled with all my strength; saying "I would not allow such familiarities, and that he was dis-"honouring me. He laughed greatly at this idea; made

* Ubi suprà, xxxi. 414.

"peace, and talked a long time with me. I had got my lesson :
"I spoke of his fleet and his conquests ; — which charmed him
"so much, that he said more than once to the Czarina, 'If he
"could have a child like me, he would willingly give one of his
"Provinces in exchange.' The Czarina also caressed me a
"good deal. The Queen" (Mamma) "and she placed them-
"selves under the dais, each in an arm-chair" of proper
dignity ; "I was at the Queen's side, and the Princesses of the
"Blood," Margravines above spoken of, "were opposite to
"her," — all in a standing posture, as is proper.

"The Czarina was a little stumpy body, very brown, and
"had neither air nor grace ; you needed only look at her, to
"guess her low extraction." It is no secret, she had been a
kitchen-wench in her Lithuanian native country ; afterwards
a female of the kind called unfortunate, under several figures :
however, she saved the Czar once, by her ready-wit and
courage, from a devouring Turkish Difficulty, and he made
her fortunate and a Czarina, to sit under the dais as now.
"With her huddle of clothes, she looked for all the world like
"a German Playactress ; her dress, you would have said, had
"been bought at a second-hand shop ; all was out of fashion,
"all was loaded with silver and greasy dirt. The front of her
"bodice she had ornamented with jewels in a very singular
"pattern : A double-eagle in embroidery, and the plumes of it
"set with poor little diamonds, of the smallest possible carat,
"and very ill mounted. All along the facing of her gown were
"Orders and little things of metal ; a dozen Orders, and as
"many Portraits of saints, of relics and the like ; so that when
"she walked, it was with a jingling, as if you heard a mule
"with bells to its harness." — Poor little Czarina ; shifty nut-
brown fellow-creature, strangely chased-about from the bot-
tom to the top of this world ; it is evident she does not succeed
at Queen Sophie Dorothee's Court ! —

"The Czar, on the other hand, was very tall, and might be 'called handsome,' continues Wilhelmina: "his countenance was beautiful, but had something of savage in it which put 'you in fear.'" Partly a kind of Milton's-Devil physiognomy? The Portraits give it rather so. Archangel not quite ruined, yet in sadly ruinous condition; its heroism so bemired, — with a turn for strong-drink, too, at times! A physiognomy to make one reflect. "His dress was of sailor fashion, coat altogether "plain."

"The Czarina, who spoke German very ill herself, and did "not understand well what the Queen said, beckoned to her "Fool to come near," — a poor female creature, who had once been a Princess Galitzin, but having got into mischief, had been excused to the Czar by her high relations as mad, and saved from death or Siberia, into her present strange harbour of refuge. With her the Czarina talked in unknown Russ, evidently "laughing much and loud," till Supper was announced.

"At table," continues Wilhelmina, "the Czar placed himself beside the Queen. It is understood this Prince was at-tempted with poison in his youth, and that something of it "had settled on his nerves ever after. One thing is certain, "there took him very often a sort of convulsion, like Tic or St.-Vitus, which it was beyond his power to control. That happened at table now. He got into contortions, gesticulations; "and as the knife was in his hand, and went dancing about "within armslength of the Queen, it frightened her, and she "motioned several times to rise. The Czar begged her not to mind, for he would do her no ill; at the same time he took "her by the hand, which he grasped with such violence that "the Queen was forced to shriek-out. This set him heartily "laughing; saying she had not bones of so hard a texture as "his Catherine's. Supper done, a grand Ball had been got

"ready; but the Czar escaped at once, and walked home by "himself to Monbijou, leaving the others to dance."

Wilhelmina's story of the Cabinet of Antiques; of the Indecent little Statue there, and of the orders Catherine got to kiss it, with a "*Kopf ab* (Head off, if you won't)!" from the bantering Czar, whom she had to obey, — is not incredible, after what we have seen. It seems, he begged this bit of Antique Indecency from Friedrich Wilhelm; who, we may fancy, would give him such an article with especial readiness. That same day, fourth of the Visit, Thursday, 23d of the month, the august Party went its ways again; Friedrich Wilhelm convoying "as far as Potsdam;" Czar and Suite taking that route towards Mecklenburg, where he still intends some little pause before proceeding homeward. Friedrich Wilhelm took farewell; and never saw the Czar again.

It was on this Journey, best part of which is now done, that the famous Order bore, "Do it for six-thousand thalers; won't allow you one other penny (*nicht einen Pfennig gebe mehr dazu*); but give out to the world "that it costs me thirty or forty thousand!" Nay, it is on record that the sum proved abundant, and even superabundant, near half of it being left as overplus.* The hospitalities of Berlin, Friedrich Wilhelm took upon himself, and he has done them as we see. You shall defray his Czarish Majesty, to the last Prussian milestone; punctually, properly, though with thrift!

* Förster, i. 216.

' Peter's *viaticum*, the Antique Indecency, Friedrich Wilhelm did not grudge to part with; glad to purchase the Czar's goodwill by coin of that kind. Last year, at Havelberg, he had given the Czar an entire Cabinet of Amber Articles, belonging to his late Father. Amber Cabinet, in the lump; and likewise such a Yacht, for shape, splendour and outfit, as probably Holland never launched before; — Yacht also belonging to his late Father, and without value to Friedrich Wilhelm. The old King had got it built in Holland, regardless of expense, — 15,000*l.*, they say, perhaps as good as 50,000*l.* now; — and it lay at Potsdam: good for what? Friedrich Wilhelm sent it down the Havel, down the Elbe, silk sailors and all, towards Hamburg and Petersburg, with a great deal of pleasure. For the Czar, and peace and goodwill with the Czar, was of essential value to him. Neither, at any rate, is the Czar a man to take gifts without return. Tall fellows for soldiers: that is always one prime object with Friedrich Wilhelm; for already these Potsdam Guards of his are getting ever more gigantic. Not less an object, though less an ideal or *poetic* one (as we once defined), was this other, To find buyers for the Manufactures, new and old, which he was so bent on encouraging. "It is astonishing, what quantities of cloth, of "hardware, salt, and all kinds of manufactured articles "the Russians buy from us," say the old Books; — "see how our 'Russian Company' flourishes!" In both these objects, not to speak of peace and goodwill in general, the Czar is our man.

Thus, this very Autumn, there arrive, astonished and astonishing, no fewer than a Hundred-and-fifty human figures (one-half *more* than were promised), probably from seven to eight feet high; the tallest the Czar could riddle out from his Dominions: what a windfall to the Potsdam Guard and its Colonel-King! And all succeeding Autumns the like, so long as Friedrich Wilhelm lived; every Autumn, out of Russia a Hundred of the tallest mortals living. Invaluable, — to a “man of genius” mounted on his hobby! One’s “stanza” can be polished at this rate.

In return for these Russian sons of Anak, Friedrich Wilhelm grudged not to send German smiths, millwrights, drill-sergeants, cannoneers, engineers; having plenty of them. By whom, as Peter well calculated, the inert opaque Russian mass might be kindled into luminosity and vitality; and drilled to know the Art of War, for one thing. Which followed accordingly. And it is observable, ever since, that the Russian Art of War has a tincture of *German* in it (solid German, as contradistinguished from unsolid Revolutionary-French); and hints to us of Friedrich Wilhelm and the Old-Dessauer, to this hour. — *Exeant* now the Barbaric semi-fabulous Sovereignties, till wanted again.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CROWN-PRINCE IS PUT TO HIS SCHOOLING.

IN his seventh year, young Friedrich was taken out of the hands of the women; and had Tutors and Sub-Tutors of masculine gender, who had been nominated for him some time ago, actually set to work upon their function. These we have already heard of; they came from Stralsund Siege, all the principal hands.

Duhan de Jandun, the young French gentleman who had escaped from grammar-lessons to the trenches, he is the practical teacher. Lieutenant-General Graf Fink von Finkenstein, and Lieutenant-Colonel von Kalkstein, they are Head Tutor (*Oberhofmeister*) and Sub-Tutor; military men both, who had been in many wars besides Stralsund. By these Three he was assiduously educated, subordinate schoolmasters working under them when needful, in such branches as the paternal judgment would admit; the paternal object and theirs being to infuse useful knowledge, reject useless, and wind-up the whole into a military finish. These appointments, made at different precise dates, took effect, all of them, in the year 1719.

Duhan, independently of his experience in the trenches, appears to have been an accomplished, ingenious and conscientious man; who did credit to Friedrich Wilhelm's judgment; and to whom Friedrich professed

himself much indebted in after-life. Their progress in some of the technical branches, as we shall perceive, was indisputably unsatisfactory. But the mind of the Boy seems to have been opened by this Duhan, to a lively, and in some sort genial, perception of things round him; — of the strange confusedly opulent Universe he had got into; and of the noble and supreme function which Intelligence holds there; supreme, in Art as in Nature, beyond all other functions whatsoever. Duhan was now turned of thirty: a cheerful amiable Frenchman; poor, though of good birth and acquirements; originally from Champagne. Friedrich loved him very much; always considered him his spiritual father; and to the end of Duhan's life, twenty years hence, was eager to do him any good in his power. Anxious always to repair, for poor Duhan, the great sorrows he came to on his account, as we shall see.

Of Graf Fink von Finkenstein, who has had military experiences of all kinds and all degrees, from marching as prisoner into France, "wounded and without his hat," to fighting at Malplaquet, at Blenheim, even at Steenkirk, as well as Stralsund; who is now in his sixtieth year, and seems to have been a gentleman of rather high solemn manners, and indeed of undeniable perfections, — of this supreme Count Fink we learn almost nothing farther in the Books, except that his little Pupil did not dislike him either. The little Pupil took not unkindly to Fink; welcoming any benignant human ray, across these lofty gravities of the *Oberhof-*

meister; went often to his house in Berlin; and made acquaintance with Two young Finks about his own age, whom he found there, and who became important to him, especially the younger of them, in the course of the future.* This Pupil, it may be said, is creditably known for his attachment to his Teachers and others; an attached and attaching little Boy.

Of Kalkstein, a rational, experienced and earnest kind of man, though as yet but young, it is certain also that the little Fritz loved him; and furthermore that the Great Friedrich was grateful to him, and had a high esteem of his integrity and sense. "My master, Kalkstein," used to be his designation of him, when the name chanced to be mentioned in after-times. They continued together, with various passages of mutual history, for forty years afterwards, till Kalkstein's death. Kalkstein is at present twenty-eight, the youngest of the three Tutors; then, and ever after, an altogether downright correct soldier and man. He is of Preussen, or Prussia Proper, this Kalkstein; — of the same kindred as that mutinous Kalkstein, whom we once heard of, who was "rolled in a carpet," and kidnapped out of Warsaw, in the Great Elector's time. Not a direct descendant of that beheaded Kalkstein's, but, as it were, his *nephew* so many times removed. Preussen is now far enough from mutiny; subdued, with all its Kalksteins, into a respectful silence, not lightly using the right even of petition, or submissive remonstrance,

* Zedlitz-Neukirch: *Preussisches Adels-Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1836), II. 168, *Militair-Lexikon*, I. 420,

which it may still have. Nor, except on the score of parliamentary eloquence, and newspaper copyright, does it appear that Preussen has suffered by the change.

How these Fink-Kalkstein functionaries proceeded in the great task they had got, — very great task, had they known what Pupil had fallen to them, — is not directly recorded for us, with any sequence or distinctness. We infer only that everything went by inflexible routine; not asking at all, *What* pupil? — nor much, Whether it would suit any pupil? Duhan, with the tendencies we have seen in him, who is willing to soften the inflexible when possible, and to “guide Nature” by a rather loose rein, was probably a genial element in the otherwise strict affair. Fritz had one unspeakable advantage, rare among princes and even among peasants in these ruined ages: that of *not* being taught, or in general not, by the kind called “Hypocrites, and even Sincere-Hypocrites,” — fatallest species of the class *Hypocrite*. We perceive he was lessoned, all along, not by enchanted Phantasms of that dangerous sort, breathing mendacity of mind, unconsciously, out of every look; but by real Men, who believed from the heart outwards, and were daily doing, what they taught. To which unspeakable advantage we add a second, likewise considerable: That his masters, though rigorous, were not unlovable to him; — that his affections, at least, were kept alive; that whatever of seed (or of chaff and hail, as was likelier) fell on his mind, had *sunshine* to help in dealing with it. These are two ad-

vantages still achievable, though with difficulty, in our epoch, by an earnest father in behalf of his poor little son. And these are, at present, nearly all; with these well achieved, the earnest father and his son ought to be thankful. Alas, in matter of education, there are no highroads at present; or there are such only as do *not* lead to the goal. Fritz, like the rest of us, had to struggle his way, Nature and Didactic Art differing very much from one another; and to do battle, incessant partial battle, with his schoolmasters for any education he had.

A very rough Document, giving Friedrich Wilhelm's regulations on this subject, from his own hand, has come down to us. Most dull, embroiled, heavy Document; intricate, gnarled, and, in fine, rough and stiff as natural bullheadedness helped by Prussian pipeclay can make it; — contains some excellent hints, too; and will show us something of Fritzchen and of Friedrich Wilhelm both at once. That is to say, always, if it can be read! If by aid of abridging, elucidating and arranging, we can get the reader engaged to peruse it patiently; — which seems doubtful. The points insisted on, in a ponderous but straggling confused manner, by his didactic Majesty, are chiefly these:

- 1^o. "Must impress my Son with a proper love and fear of
"God, as the foundation and sole pillar of our temporal and
"eternal welfare. No false religions, or sects of Atheist, Arian
"(Arrian), Socinian, or whatever name the poisonous things

"have; which can so easily corrupt a young mind, are to be even named in his hearing: on the other hand, a proper abhorrence (*Abscheu*) of Papistry, and insight into its baselessness and nonsensicality (*Ungrund und Absurdität*), is to be communicated to him:" — Papistry, which is false enough, like the others, but impossible to be ignored like them; mention that, and give him due abhorrence for it. For we are Protestant to the bone in this country; and cannot stand *Absurdität*, least of all hypocritically-religious ditto! But the grand thing will be, "To impress on him the true religion, which consists essentially in this, That Christ died for all men," and generally that the Almighty's justice is eternal and omnipresent, — "which consideration is the only means of keeping a sovereign person (*souveraine Macht*), or one freed from human penalties, in the right way."

2°. "He is to learn no Latin;" observe that, however it may surprise you. What has a living German man and King, of the eighteenth Christian *Sæculum*, to do with dead old Heathen Latins, Romans, and the lingo they spoke their fraction of sense and nonsense in? Frightful, how the young years of the European Generations have been wasted, for ten centuries back; and the Thinkers of the world have become mere walking Sacks of Marine-stores, '*Gelehrten*, Learned,' as they call themselves; and gone *lost* to the world, in that manner, as a set of confiscated Pedants; — babbling about said Heathens, and *their* extinct lingo and fraction of sense and nonsense, for the thousand years last past! Heathen Latins, Romans; — who perhaps were no great things of Heathen, after all, if well seen into? I have heard judges say, they were inferior, in real worth and grist, to German homegrowths we have had, if the confiscated Pedants could have discerned it! At any rate, they are dead, buried deep, these two-thousand years; well out of our way; — and nonsense enough of our

own left, to keep sweeping into corners. Silence about their lingo and them, to this new Crown-Prince! "Let the Prince "learn French and German," so as to write and speak, "with "brevity and propriety," in these two languages, which may be useful to him in life. That will suffice for languages, — provided he have anything effectually rational to say in them. For the rest,

3°. "Let him learn Arithmetic, Mathematics, Artillery, — "Economy to the very bottom." And, in short, useful knowledge generally; useless ditto not at all. "History in particular; — Ancient History only slightly (*nur überhin*); — but "the History of the last Hundred-and-fifty Years to the exactest pitch. The *Jus Naturale* and *Jus Gentium*," by way of handlamp to History, "he must be completely master of; as "also of Geography, whatever is remarkable in each Country. "And in Histories, most especially the History of the House of "Brandenburg; where he will find domestic examples, which "are always of more force than foreign. And along with "Prussian History, chiefly that of the Countries which have "been connected with it, as England, Brunswick, Hessen and "the others. And in reading of wise History-books there "must be considerations made (*sollen beyrn Lesen kluger "Historiarum Betrachtungen gemacht werden*) upon the causes "of the events." — Surely, O King!

4°. "With increasing years, you will more and more, to a "most especial degree, go upon Fortification," — mark you! — "the Formation of a Camp, and the other War-Sciences; "that the Prince may, from youth upwards, be trained to act "as Officer and General, and to seek all his glory in the soldier "profession." This is whither it must all tend. You, Finken-stein and Kalkstein, "have both of you, in the highest "measure, to make it your care to infuse into my Son" (*einzu-prägen*, stamp into him) "a true love for the Soldier business,

"and to impress on him that, as there is nothing in the world
 "which can bring a Prince renown and honour like the sword,
 "so he would be a despised creature before all men, if he did
 "not love it, and seek his sole glory (*die einzige Gloria*)
 "therein."* Which is an extreme statement of the case;
 showing how much we have it at heart.

These are the chief Friedrich-Wilhelm traits; the rest of the Document corresponds in general to what the late Majesty had written for Friedrich Wilhelm himself on the like occasion.** Ruthless contempt of Useless Knowledge; and passionate insight into the distinction between Useful and Useless, especially into the worth of Soldiering as a royal accomplishment, are the chief peculiarities here. In which latter point too Friedrich Wilhelm, himself the most pacific of men, unless you pulled the whiskers of him, or broke into his goods and chattels, knew very well what he was meaning, — much better than we of the "Peace Society," and "Philanthropic Movement," could imagine at first sight! It is a thing he, for his part, is very decided upon.

Already, a year before this time,*** there had been instituted, for express behoof of little Fritz, a miniature Soldier Company, above a hundred strong; which grew afterwards to be near three-hundred, and indeed rose to be a permanent Institution by degrees; called *Kompagnie der Kronprinzlichen Kadetten* (Company of Crown-Prince Cadets). A hundred-and-ten boys about his own

* Preuss, i. 11-14 (of date 18th August 1718).

** Stenzel, lii. 572.

*** 1st September 1717: Preuss, i. 13.

age, sons of noble families, had been selected from the three Military Schools then extant, as a kind of tiny regiment for him; where, if he was by no means commander all at once, he might learn his exercise in fellowship with others. Czar Peter, it is likely, took a glance of this tiny regiment just getting into rank and file there; which would remind the Czar of his own young days. An experienced Lieutenant-Colonel was appointed to command in chief. A certain handy and correct young fellow, Rentzel by name, about seventeen, who already knew his fugling to a hairs-breadth, was Drill-master; and exercised them all, Fritz especially, with due strictness; till, in the course of time and of attainments, Fritz could himself take the head charge. Which he did duly, in a year or two: a little soldier thenceforth; properly strict, though of small dimensions; in tight blue bit of coat and cocked hat: — miniature image of Papa (it is fondly hoped and expected), resembling him as a sixpence does a half-crown. In 1721 the assiduous Papa set-up a "little arsenal" for him, "in the Orange Hall of the Palace:" there let him, with perhaps a chosen comrade or two, mount batteries, fire exceedingly small brass ordnance, — his Engineer-Teacher, one Major von Senning, limping about (on corkleg), and superintending if needful.

Rentzel, it is known, proved an excellent Drill-sergeant; — had good talents every way, and was a man of probity and sense. He played beautifully on the flute too, and had a cheerful conversible turn; which naturally recommended him still farther to Fritz; and

awoke or encouraged, among other faculties, the musical faculty, in the little Boy. Rentzel continued about him, or in sight of him, through life; advancing, gradually, not too fast, according to real merit and service (Colonel in 1759); and never did discredit to the choice Friedrich Wilhelm had made of him. Of Senning, too, Engineer-Major von Senning, who gave Fritz his lessons in Mathematics, Fortification and the kindred branches, the like, or better, can be said. He was of graver years; had lost a leg in the Marlborough Campaigns, poor gentleman; but had abundant sense, native worth and cheery rational talk, in him: so that he too could never be parted with by Friedrich, but was kept on hand to the last, a permanent and variously serviceable acquisition.

Thus, at least, is the military education of our Crown-Prince cared-for. And we are to fancy the little fellow, from his tenth year or earlier, going-about in miniature soldier figure, for most part; in strict Spartan-Brandenburg costume, of body as of mind. Costume little flattering to his own private taste for finery; yet by no means unwholesome to him, as he came afterwards to know. In October 1723, it is on record, when George I. came to visit his Son-in-law and Daughter at Berlin, his Britannic Majesty, looking-out from his new quarters on the morrow, saw Fritzchen "drilling his Cadet Company;" a very pretty little phenomenon. Drilling, with clear voice, military sharpness, and the precision of clock-work, on the Esplanade (*Lustgarten*) there; — and doubtless the Britannic Majesty gave

some grunt of acquiescence, perhaps even a smile, rare on that square heavy-laden countenance of his. That is the record:* and truly it forms for us by far the liveliest little picture we have got, from those dull old years of European History. Years already sunk, or sinking, into lonesome unpeopled Dusk for all men; and fast verging towards vacant Oblivion and eternal Night; — which (if some few articles were once saved out of them) is their just and inevitable portion from afflicted human nature.

Of riding-masters, fencing-masters, swimming-masters; much less of dancing-masters, music-masters (celebrated Graun, "on the organ," with Psalm-tunes), we cannot speak; but the reader may be satisfied they were all there, good of their kind, and pushing-on at a fair rate. Nor is there lack anywhere of paternal supervision to our young Apprentice. From an early age, Papa took the Crown-Prince with him on his annual Reviews. From utmost Memel on the Russian border, down to Wesel on the French, all Prussia, in every nook of it, garrison, marching-regiment, board of management, is rigorously reviewed by Majesty once a year. There travels little military Fritz, beside the military Majesty, amid the generals and official persons, in their hardy Spartan manner; and learns to look into everything like a Rhadamanthine Argus, and how the eye of the master, more than all other appliances, fattens the cattle.

On his Hunts, too, Papa took him. For Papa was

* Förster, i. 215.

a famous hunter, when at Wusterhausen in the season: — hot Beagle-chase, hot Stag-hunt, your chief game deer; huge "Force-Hunt" (*Parforce-Jagd*, the woods all beaten, and your wild-beasts driven into straits and caudine-forks for you); Boar-hunting (*Sauhetze*, "sow-baiting," as the Germans call it); Partridge shooting, Fox-and-wolf hunting: — on all grand expeditions of such sort, little Fritz shall ride with Papa and party. Rough furious riding; now on swift steed, now at places on *Wurstwagen* — *Wurstwagen*, "Sausage-Car" so-called, most Spartan of vehicles, a mere *stuffed pole* or "sausage" with wheels to it, on which you sit astride, a dozen or so of you, and career; — regardless of the summer heat and sandy dust, of the winter's frost-storms and muddy rain. All this the little Crown-Prince is bound to do; — but likes it less and less, some of us are sorry to observe! In fact he could not take to hunting at all, or find the least of permanent satisfaction in shooting partridges and baiting sows, — "with such an expenditure of industry and such damage to the seedfields," he would sometimes allege in extenuation. In later years he has been known to retire into some glade of the thickets, and hold a little Flute-Hautbois Concert with his musical comrades, while the sows were getting baited. Or he would converse with Mamma and her Ladies, if her Majesty chanced to be there, in a day for open-driving. Which things by no means increase his favour with Papa, a sworn hater of "effeminate practices."

He was "nourished on beer-soup," as we said be-

fore. Frugality, activity, exactitude were lessons daily and hourly brought home to him, in everything he did and saw. His very sleep was stingily meted-out to him: "Too much sleep stupefies a fellow!" Friedrich Wilhelm was wont to say; — so that the very Doctors had to interfere, in this matter, for little Fritz. Frugal enough, hardy enough; urged in every way to look with indifference on hardship, and take a Spartan view of life.

Money-allowance completely his own, he does not seem to have had till he was seventeen. Exiguous pocket-money, counted in *groschen* (English *pence*, or hardly more), only his Kalkstein and Finkenstein could grant as they saw good; — about eighteen-pence in the month, to start with, as would appear. The other small incidental moneys, necessary for his use, were likewise all laid-out under sanction of his Tutors, and accurately entered in Daybooks by them, audited by Friedrich Wilhelm; of which some specimens remain, and one whole month, September 1719 (the Boy's eighth year), has been published. Very singular to contemplate, in these days of gold-nuggets, and irrational man-mountains fattened by mankind at such a price! The monthly amount appears to have been some 3*l.* 10*s.*; — and has gone, all but the eighteen-pence of sovereign pocket-money, for small furnishings and very minute necessary luxuries; — as thus:

"To putting his Highness's shoes on the last;" for stretching them to the little feet, — and only one "last," as we per-

ceive. "To twelve yards of Hairtape" (*Haarband*, for our little queue, which becomes visible here). "For drinkmoney to the Postillions." "For the Housemaids at Wusterhausen" (Don't I pay them myself? objects the auditing Papa, at that latter kind of items: No more of that). "For mending the flute, four *groschen* (or pence);" "Two Boxes of Colours, sixteen ditto;" "For a live snipe, twopence;" "For grinding the hanger" (little swordkin); "To a Boy whom the dog bit;" — and chiefly of all, "To the *Klingbeutel*" (Collection-plate, or bag, at Church), which comes upon us once, nay twice, and even thrice a week, eighteenpence each time, and eats deep into our straitened means.*

On such terms can a little Fritz be nourished into a Friedrich the Great; while irrational man-mountains, of the beaverish or beaverish-vulpine sort, take such a price to fatten them into monstrosity! The Art-manufacture of your Friedrich can come very cheap, it would appear, if once Nature have done her part in regard to him, and there be mere honest will on the part of the bystanders. Thus Samuel Johnson, too, cost next to nothing in the way of board and entertainment in this world. And a Robert Burns, remarkable modern Thor, a Peasant-god of these sunk ages, with a touch of melodious *runes* in him (since all else lay under ban for the poor fellow), was raised on frugal oatmeal, at an expense of perhaps half-a-crown a week. Nuggets and ducats are divine; but they are not the most divine. I often wish the Devil had the lion's share of them, — at once, and not circuitously

* Preuss, i. 17.

as now. It would be an unspeakable advantage to the bewildered sons of Adam, in this epoch!

But with regard to our little Crown-Prince's intellectual culture, there is another Document, specially from Papa's hand, which, if we can redact, adjust and abridge it, as in the former case, may be worth the reader's notice, and elucidate some things for him. It is of date, Wusterhausen, 3d September 1721; little Fritz now in his tenth year, and out there, with his Duhaus and Finkensteins, while Papa is rustivating for a few weeks. The essential Title is, or might be:

*To Head-Governor von Finkenstein, Sub-Governor von Kalkstein, Preceptor Jacques Egide Duhan de Jandun, and others whom it may concern: Regulations for schooling, at Wusterhausen, 3d September 1721; * — in greatly abridged form.*

Sunday. "On Sunday he is to rise at 7; and as soon as he "has got his slippers on, shall kneel down at his bedside, and "pray to God, so as all in the room may hear it" (that there be no deception or short-measure palmed upon us), "in these "words: 'Lord God, blessed Father, I thank thee from my "heart that thou hast so graciously preserved me through this "night. Fit me for what thy holy will is; and grant that I do "nothing this day, nor all the days of my life, which can "divide me from thee. For the Lord Jesus my Redeemer's "sake. Amen.' After which the Lord's Prayer. Then "rapidly and vigorously (*geschwinde und hurtig*) wash himself

* Preuss, i. 19,

"clean, dress and powder and comb himself:" we forget to say, that while they are combing and queuing him, he breakfasts, with brevity, on tea: "Prayer, with washing, breakfast "and the rest, to be done pointedly within fifteen minutes," — that is, at a quarter-past 7.

"This finished, all his Domestic and Duhan shall come in, "and do family worship (*das grosse Gebet zu halten*): Prayer "on their knees, Duhan withal to read a Chapter of the Bible, "and sing some proper Psalm or Hymn" (as practised in well-regulated families): — "it will then be a quarter to 8. All the "Domestics then withdraw again; and Duhan now reads with "my Son the Gospel of the Sunday; expounds it a little, ad- "ducing the main points of Christianity;" — "questioning "from Noltenius's Catechism" (which Fritz knows by heart): — "it will then be 9 o'clock.

"At 9 he brings my Son down to me; who goes to Church, "and dines, along with me" (dinner at the stroke of Noon): "the rest of the day is then his own" (Fritz's and Duhan's). "At half-past 9 in the evening, he shall come and bid me good- "night. Shall then directly go to his room; very rapidly "(*sehr geschwind*) get-off his clothes, wash his hands" (get-into some tiny dressing-gown or *cassaquin*, no doubt); "and so "soon as that is done, Duhan makes a prayer on his knees, "and sings a hymn; all the Servants being again there. "Instantly after which, my Son shall get into bed; shall be in "bed at half-past 10;" — and fall asleep how soon, your Majesty? This is very strict work.

Monday. "On Monday, as on all weekdays, he is to be "called at 6; and so soon as called he is to rise, you are to "stand to him (*anhalten*) that he do not loiter or turn in bed, "but briskly and at once get up; and say his prayers, the "same as on Sunday morning. This done, he shall as rapidly "as possible get-on his shoes and spatterdashes; also wash

"his face and hands, but not with soap. Farther shall put-on "his *cassaquin*" (short dressing-gown), "have his hair combed-out and queued, but not powdered. While getting combed "and queued, he shall at the same time take breakfast of tea, "so that both jobs go-on at once: and all this shall be ended "before half-past 6." Then enter Duhan and the Domestics, with worship, Bible, Hymn, all as on Sunday; this is done by 7, and the Servants go again.

"From 7 till 9 Duhan takes him on History; at 9 comes "Noltenius" (a sublime Clerical Gentleman from Berlin) with the "Christian Religion, till a quarter to 11. Then Fritz "rapidly (*geschwind*) washes his face with water, hands with "soap-and-water; clean shirt; powders, and puts-on his coat; "— about 11 comes to the King. Stays with King till 2," — perhaps promenading a little; dining always at Noon; after which Majesty is apt to be slumberous, and light amusements are over.

"Directly at 2, he goes back to his room. Duhan is there, "ready; takes him upon the Maps and Geography, from 2 to "3, — giving account" (gradually!) "of all the European "Kingdoms; their strength and weakness; size, riches and "poverty of their towns. From 3 to 4, Duhan treats of Morality "*(soll die Moral tractiren)*. From 4 to 5, Duhan shall write "German Letters with him, and see that he gets a good "*stylum*" (which he never in the least did). "About 5, Fritz "shall wash his hands, and go to the King; — ride out; divert "himself, in the air and not in his room; and do what he likes, "if it is not against God."

There, then, is a Sunday, and there is one Weekday; which latter may serve for all the other five; — though they are strictly specified in the royal monograph, and every hour of

them marked out: How, and at what points of time, besides this of *History*, of *Morality*, and *Writing in German*, of *Maps* and *Geography* with the strength and weakness of Kingdoms, you are to take-up *Arithmetic* more than once; *Writing of French Letters*, so as to acquire a good *stylum*: in what nook you may intercalate "a little getting by heart of something, in order to strengthen the memory:" how instead of Noltenius, Panzendorf (another sublime Reverend Gentleman from Berlin, who comes out express) gives the clerical drill on Tuesday morning; — with which two onslaughts, of an hour-and-half each, the Clerical Gentlemen seem to withdraw for the week, and we hear no more of them till Monday and Tuesday come round again.

On Wednesday we are happy to observe a liberal slice of holiday come in. At half-past 9, having done his *History*, and "got something by heart to strengthen the memory" (very little, it is to be feared), "Fritz shall rapidly dress himself, and come to the King. And the rest of the day belongs to little Fritz (*gehört vor Fritzchen*)."

On Saturday, too, there is some fair chance of half-holiday:

"Saturday, forenoon till half-past 10, come History, "Writing and Ciphering; especially repetition of what was "done through the week, and in *Morality* as well" (adds the rapid Majesty), "to see whether he has profited. And General "Graf von Finkenstein, with Colonel von Kalkstein, shall be "present during this. If Fritz has profited, the afternoon "shall be his own. If he has not profited, he shall, from 2 to "6, repeat and learn rightly what he has forgotten on the past "days." And so the labouring week winds itself up. Here, however, is one general rule which cannot be too much impressed upon you, with which we conclude:

"In undressing and dressing, you must accustom him to

"get out of, and into, his clothes as fast as is humanly possible
"(*hurtig so viel als menschenmöglich ist*). You will also look
"that he learn to put-on and put-off his clothes himself, with-
"out help from others; and that he be clean and neat, and not
"so dirty (*nicht so schmutzig*). "Not so dirty," that is my last
word; and here is my sign-manual.

"FRIEDRICH WILHELM."*

* Preuss, i. 21.

CHAPTER IX.

WUSTERHAUSEN.

WUSTERHAUSEN, where for the present these operations go on, lies about twenty English miles south-east of Berlin, as you go towards Schlesien (Silesia); — on the old Silesian road, in a flat moory country made of peat and sand; — and is not distinguished for its beauty at all among royal Hunting-lodges. The Göhrde at Hanover, for example, what a splendour there in comparison! But it serves Friedrich Wilhelm's simple purposes: there is game abundant in the scraggy woodlands, otter-pools, fish-pools, and miry thickets, of that old "Schenkenland" (belonged all once to the "*Schenken* Family," till old King Friedrich bought it for his Prince); retinue sufficient find nooks for lodgment in the poor old Schloss so called; and Noltenius and Panzendorf drive out each once a week, in some light vehicle, to drill Fritz in his religious exercises.

One Zöllner, a Tourist to Silesia, confesses himself rather pleased to find even Wusterhausen in such a country of sandy bent-grass, lean cattle, and flat desolate languor.

"Getting to the top of the ridge" (most insignificant "ridge," made by hand, Wilhelmina satirically says), Tourist Zöllner can discern with pleasure "a considerable Brook," — visible, not audible, smooth Stream, or chain of meres and

lakelets, flowing languidly northward towards Köpenik. Inaudible big Brook or Stream; which, we perceive, drains a slightly hollowed Tract; too shallow to be called valley, — of several miles in width, of several yards in depth; — Tract with wood here and there on it; and signs of grass and culture, welcome after what you have passed. On the foreground close to you is the Hamlet of Königs-Wusterhausen, with tolerable Lime-tree Avenue leading to it, and the air of something silvan from your Hilltop. Königs-Wusterhausen was once *Wendish*-Wusterhausen, and not far off is *Deutsch*-Wusterhausen, famed, I suppose, by faction-fights in the Vandalic times: both of them are now *King's*-Wusterhausen (since the King came thither), to distinguish them from other Wusterhausens that there are.

Descending, advancing through your Lime-tree Avenue, you come upon the backs of officehouses, outhouses, stables or the like, — on your left hand I have guessed, — extending along the Highway. And in the middle of these you come at last to a kind of Gate or vaulted passage (*Art von Thor*, says Zöllner), where, if you have liberty, you face to the left, and enter. Here, once through into the free light again, you are in a Court: four-square space, not without prospect; right side and left side are lodgings for his Majesty's gentlemen; behind you, well in their view, are stables and kitchens: in the centre of the place is a Fountain "with hewn steps and iron railings;" where his simple Majesty has been known to sit and smoke, on summer evenings. The fourth side of your square, again, is a palisade; beyond which, over bridge and moat and intervening apparatus, you perceive, on its trim terraces, the respectable old Schloss itself. A rectangular mass, not of vast proportions, with tower in the centre of it (tower for screw-stair, the general roadway of the House); and looking though weatherbeaten yet weathertight, and as dignified as it can,

This is Wusterhausen; Friedrich Wilhelm's Hunting-seat from of old.

A dreadfully crowded place, says Wilhelmina, where you are stuffed into garrets, and have not room to turn. The terraces are of some magnitude, trimmed all round with a row of little clipped trees, one big limetree at each corner; — under one of these big limetrees, aided by an awning, it is his Majesty's delight to spread his frugal but substantial dinner, four-and-twenty covers, at the stroke of 12, and so dine *sub dio*. If rain come on, says Wilhelmina, you are wet to midleg, the ground being hollow in that place, — and indeed in all weathers, your situation everyway, to a vehement young Princess's idea, is rather of the horrible sort. After dinner, his Majesty sleeps, stretched perhaps on some wooden settle or garden-chair, for about an hour; regardless of the flaming heat, under his awning or not; and we poor Princesses have to wait, praying all the Saints that they would resuscitate him soon. This is about 2 P.M.; happier Fritz is gone to his lessons, in the interim.

These four Terraces, this rectangular Schloss with the four big lindens at the corners, are surrounded by a Moat: black abominable ditch, Wilhelmina calls it; of the hue of Tartarean Styx, and of a far worse smell, in fact enough to choke one, in hot days after dinner, thinks the vehement Princess. Three Bridges cross this Moat or ditch, from the middle of three several Terraces or sides of the Schloss; and on the fourth it is impassable. Bridge first, coming from the palisade and Office-house Court, has not only human sentries walking at it; but two white Eagles perch near it, and two black ditto, symbols of the heraldic Prussian Eagle, screeching about in their littery way: item two black Bears, ugly as Sin, which are vicious wretches withal, and many times do passengers a mischief. As perhaps we shall see, on some occasion. This is

Bridge first, leading to the Court and to the outer Highway; a King's gentleman, going to bed at night, has always to pass these Bears. Bridge second leads us southward to a common Mill which is near by; its clacking audible upon the common Stream of the region, and not unpleasant to his Majesty, among its meadows fringed with alders, in a country of mere and moor. Bridge third, directly opposite to Bridge first and its Bears, leads you to the Garden; whither Mamma, playing tocadille all day with her women, will not, or will not often enough, let us poor girls go.*

Such is Wusterhausen, as delineated by a vehement Princess, some years hence, — who becomes at last intelligible, by study and the aid of our Silesian Tourist. It is not distinguished among Country Palaces: but the figure of Friedrich Wilhelm asleep there after dinner, regardless of the flaming sun (should he sleep too long and the shadow of his Linden quit him), — this is a sight which no other Palace in the world can match; this will long render Wusterhausen memorable to me. His Majesty, early always as the swallows, hunts, I should suppose, in the morning; dines and sleeps, we may perceive, till towards 3 or later. His Official business he will not neglect, nor shirk the hours due to it; towards sunset there may be a walk or ride with Fritz, or Feekin and the womankind: and always, in the evening, his Majesty holds *Tabagie*, *Tabaks-Collegium* (Smoking College, kind of Tobacco-Parliament, as we might name it), an Institution punc-

* Zöllner: *Briefe über Schlesien* (Berlin, 1792), i. 2, 3. *Wilhelmina*, l. 364, 365.

tually attended-to by his Majesty, of which we shall by and by speak more. At Wusterhausen his Majesty holds his Smoking Session mostly in the open air, oftenest "on the steps of the great Fountain" (how arranged, as to seating and canvas-screening, I cannot say); — smokes there, with his Grumkows, Derschaus, Anhalt-Dessaus, and select Friends, in various slow talk; till Night kindle her mild starlights, shake-down her dark curtains over all Countries, and admonish weary mortals that it is now bedtime.

Not much of the Picturesque in this autumnal life of our little Boy. But he has employments in abundance; and these make the permitted open air, under any terms, a delight. He can rove-about with Duhan among the gorse and heath, and their wild summer tenantry winged and wingless. In the woodlands are wild swine, in the meres are fishes, otters; the drowsy Hamlets, scattered round, awaken in an interested manner at the sound of our pony-hoofs and dogs. Mittenwalde, where are shops, is within riding distance; we could even stretch to Köpenik, and visit in the big Schloss there, if Duhan were willing, and the cattle fresh. From some church-steeple or sand-knoll, it is to be hoped, some blue streak of the Lausitz Hills may be visible: the Sun and the Moon and the Heavenly Hosts, these full certainly are visible; and on an Earth which everywhere produces miracles of all kinds, from the daisy or heather-bell up to the man, one place is nearly equal to another for a brisk little Boy.

Fine Palaces, if Wusterhausen be a sorry one, are not wanting to our young Friend: whatsoever it is in the power of architecture and upholstery to do for him, may be considered, withal, as done. Wusterhausen is but a Hunting-lodge for some few Autumn weeks: the Berlin Palace and the Potsdam, grand buildings both, few Palaces in the world surpass them; and there, in one or the other of these, is our usual residence. — Little Fritz, besides his young Finkensteins and others of the like, has Cousins, children of his Grandfather's Half-brothers, who are comrades of his. For the Great Elector, as we saw, was twice wedded, and had a second set of sons and daughters: two of the sons had children; certain of these are about the Crown-Prince's own age, "Cousins" of his (strictly speaking, Half-cousins of *his Father's*), who are much about him in his young days, — and more or less afterwards, according to the worth they proved to have. Margraves and Margravines of Schwedt, — there are five or six of such young Cousins. Not to mention the eldest, Friedrich Wilhelm by name, who is now come to manhood (born, 1700); — who wished much in after-years to have had Wilhelmina to wife; but had to put-up with a younger Princess of the House, and ought to have been thankful. This one has a younger Brother, Heinrich, slightly Fritz's senior, and much his comrade at one time; of whom we shall transiently hear again. Of these two the Old Dessauer is Uncle: if both his Majesty and the Crown-Prince should die, one of these

would be king. A circumstance which Wilhelmina and the Queen have laid well to heart, and build many wild suspicions upon, in these years! As that the Old Dessauer, with his gunpowder face, has a plot one day to assassinate his Majesty, — plot evident as sunlight to Wilhelmina and Mamma, which providentially came to nothing; — and other spectral notions of theirs.* The Father of these two Margraves (elder of the two Half-brothers that have children) died in the time of old King Friedrich, eight or nine years ago. Their Mother, the scheming old Margravine, whom I always fancy to dress in high colours, is still living, — as Wilhelmina well knows!

Then, by another, the younger of those old Half-brothers, there is a Karl, a second Friedrich Wilhelm, Cousin-Margraves: plenty of Cousins; — and two young Margravines among them,** the youngest about Fritz's own age.*** No want of Cousins; the Crown-Prince

* Wilhelmina, i. 35, 41.

** Michaelis, i. 425.

*** *Note of the Cousin Margraves.* — Great Elector, by his Second Wife, had Five Sons, Two of whom left Children; — as follows (so far as they concern us, — the others omitted):

1°. Son *Philip's* Children (Mother the Old-Dessauer's Sister) are: Friedrich Wilhelm (1700), who wished much, but in vain, to marry Wilhelmina. Heinrich Friedrich (1709), a comrade of Fritz's in youth; sometimes getting into scrapes; — misbehaved, some way, at the Battle of Molwitz (first of Friedrich's Battles), 1741, and was inexorably cut by the new King, and continued under a cloud thenceforth. — This *Philip* ("Philip Wilhelm") died 1711, his forty-third year; Widow long survived him.

2°. Son *Albert's* Children (Mother a Courland Princess) are: Karl (1705); lived near Cüstrin; became a famed captain, in the Silesian Wars, under his Cousin. Friedrich (1701); fell at Molwitz, 1741. Friedrich

seeing much of them all; and learning pleasantly their various qualities, which were good in most, in some not so good, and did not turn-out supreme in any case. But, for the rest, Sister Wilhelmina is his grand confederate and companion; true in sport and in earnest, in joy and in sorrow. Their truthful love to one another, now and till death, is probably the brightest element their life yielded to either of them.

What might be the date of Fritz's first appearance in the Roucouilles "Soiree held on Wednesdays," in the Finkenstein or any other Soiree, as an independent figure, I do not know. But at the proper time, he does appear there, and with distinction not extrinsic alone; — talks delightfully in such places; can discuss, even with French Divines, in a charmingly ingenious manner. Another of his elderly consorts I must mention: Colonel Camas, a highly cultivated Frenchman (French altogether by parentage and breeding, though born on Prussian land), who was Tutor, at one time, to some of those young Margraves. He has lost an arm, — left it in those Italian Campaigns, under Anhalt-Dessau and Eugene; — but by the aid of a cork substitute, dextrously managed, almost hides the want. A gallant soldier, fit for the diplomacies too; a man of fine high ways.* And then his Wife — In

Wilhelm (a Margraf Friedrich Wilhelm "No. 2," — namesake of his now Majesty, it is like; born 1714; killed at Prag, by a cannon-shot (at King Friedrich's hand, reconnoitring the place), 1744. — This Albert ("Albert Friedrich") died suddenly 1731, age fifty-nine.

* *Militair-Lexikon*, i. 308.

Carlyle, *Frederic the Great*. II.

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fact, the Camas House, we perceive, had from an early time been one of the Crown-Prince's haunts. Madam Camas is a German Lady; but for genial elegance, for wit and wisdom and goodness, could not readily be paralleled in France or elsewhere. Of both these Camases there will be honourable and important mention by and by; especially of the Lady, whom he continues to call "Mamma" for fifty years to come, and corresponds with in a very beautiful and human fashion.

Under these auspices, in such environment, dimly visible to us, at Wusterhausen and elsewhere, is the remarkable little Crown-Prince of his Century growing up, — prosperously as yet.

CHAPTER X.

THE HEIDELBERG PROTESTANTS.

FRIEDRICH WILHELM holds Tabagie nightly; but at Wusterhausen or wherever he may be, there is no lack of intricate Official Labour, which, even in the Tabagie, Friedrich Wilhelm does not forget. At the time he was concocting those Instructions for his little Prince's Schoolmasters, and smoking meditative under the stars, with Magdeburg "*Ritter-Dienst*" and much else of his own to think of, — there is an extraneous Political Intricacy, making noise enough in the world, much in his thoughts withal, and no doubt occasionally murmured-of amid the tobacco-clouds. The Business of the Heidelberg Protestants; which is just coming to a height in those Autumn months of 1719.

Indeed this Year 1719 was a particularly noisy one for him. This is the year of the "nephritic cholic," which befell at Brandenburg on some journey of his Majesty's; with alarm of immediate death; Queen Sophie sent-for by express; testament made in her favour; and intrigues, very black ones, Wilhelmina thinks, following thereupon.* And the "Affair of Clement," on which the old Books are so profuse, falls likewise, the crisis of it falls, in 1719. Of Clement the "Hungarian Nobleman," who was a mere Hunga-

* *Mémoires de Bareith* l. 26-29.

rian Swindler, and Forger of Royal Letters; sowing mere discords, black suspicions, between Friedrich Wilhelm and the neighbouring Courts, Imperial and Saxon: "Your Majesty to be snapt-up, some day, by hired ruffians, and spirited-away, for behoof of those treacherous Courts:" so that Friedrich Wilhelm fell into a gloom of melancholy, and for long weeks "never slept but with a pair of loaded pistols under his pillow:" — of this Clement, an adroit Phenomenon of the kind, and intensely agitating to Friedrich Wilhelm; — whom Friedrich Wilhelm had at last to lay hold-of, try, this very year, and ultimately hang,* amid the rumour and wonder of mankind: — of him, noisy as he was, and still filling many pages of the old Books, a hint shall suffice, and we will say nothing further. But this of the Heidelberg Protestants, though also rather an extinct business, has still some claims on us. This, in justice to the "inarticulate man of genius," and for other reasons, we must endeavour to resuscitate a little.

Of Kur-Pfalz Karl Philip: How he got a Wife long since, and did Feats in the World.

There reigns, in these years, at Heidelberg, as Elector Palatine, a kind-tempered but abrupt and some-

* Had arrived in Berlin, "end of 1717;" staid about a year, often privately in the King's company, poisoning the royal mind; withdrew to the Hague, suspecting Berlin might soon grow dangerous; — is wiled out of that Territory into the Prussian, and arrested, by one of Friedrich Wilhelm's Colonels, "end of 1718;" lies in Spandau, getting tried, for seventeen months; hanged, with two Accomplices, 18th April 1720. (See, in succession, Stenzel; iii. 298, 302; Fassmann, p. 321; Förster, ii. 272, and iii. 320-324.)

what unreasonable old gentleman, now verging towards sixty, Karl Philip by name; who has come athwart the Berlin Court and its affairs more than once; and will again do so, in a singularly disturbing way. From before Friedrich Wilhelm's birth, all through Friedrich Wilhelm's life and farther, this Karl Philip is a stone-of-stumbling there. His first feat in life was that of running-off with a Prussian Princess from Berlin; the rumour of which was still at its height when Friedrich Wilhelm, a fortnight after, came into the world, — the gossips still talking of it, we may fancy, when Friedrich Wilhelm was first swaddled. An unheard-of thing; the manner of which was this.

Readers have perhaps forgotten, that old King Friedrich I. once had a Brother; elder Brother, who died, to the Father's great sorrow, and made way for Friedrich as Crown-Prince. This Brother had been married a short time; he left a Widow without children; a beautiful Lithuanian Princess, born Radzivil, and of great possessions in her own country: she, in her crapes and closecap, remained an ornament to the new Berlin Court for some time; — not too long. The mourning-year once out, a new marriage came on foot for the brilliant Widow; the Bridegroom, a James Sobieski, eldest Prince of the famous John, King Sobieski; Prince with fair outlooks towards Polish Sovereignty, and handy for those Lithuanian Possessions of hers: altogether an eligible match.

This marriage was on foot, not quite completed;

when Karl Philip, Cadet of the Pfalz, came to Berlin; — a rather idle young man, once in the clerical way; now gone into the military, with secular outlooks, his elder Brother, Heir-apparent of the Pfalz, “having no children:” — came to Berlin, in the course of visiting, and roving about. The beautiful Widow-Princess seemed very charming to Karl Philip; he wooed hard; threw the Princess into great perplexity. She had given her Yes to James Sobieski; inevitable wedding-day was coming-on with James; and here was Karl Philip wooing so: — in brief, the result was, she galloped-off with Karl Philip, on the eve of said wedding-day; married Karl Philip (24th July 1688); and left Prince James standing there, too much like Lot's Wife, in the astonished Court of Berlin.* Judge if the Berlin public talked, — unintelligible to Friedrich Wilhelm, then safe in swaddling-clothes.

King Sobieski, the Father, famed Deliverer of Vienna, was in high dudgeon. But Karl Philip apologised, to all lengths; made his peace at last, giving a Sister of his own to be Wife to the injured James. This was Karl Philip's first outbreak in life; and it was not his only one. A man not ill-disposed, all grant; but evidently of headlong turn, with a tendency to leap fences in this world. He has since been soldiering about, in a loose way; governing Innspruck, fighting the Turks. But, lately, his elder Brother died childless (year 1716); and left him Kurfürst of the Pfalz. His fair Radzivil is dead long ago; she, and a

* Michaelis, ii. 98.

successor, or it may be two. Except one Daughter, whom the fair Radzivil left him, he has no children; and in these times, I think, lives with a third Wife, of the *left-hand* kind.

His scarcity of progeny is not so indifferent to my readers as they might suppose. This new *Kur-Pfalz* (Elector-Palatine) Karl Philip is by genealogy — who, thinks the reader? *Pfalz-Neuburg* by line; own Grandson of that Wolfgang Wilhelm, who got the slap on the face, long since, on account of the Cleve-Jülich matter! So it has come round. The Line of Simmern died out, Winter-King's Grandson the last of that; and then, as right was, the Line of Neuburg took the top place, and became *Kur-Pfalz*. The first of these was this Karl Philip's Father, son of the Beslapped; an old man when he succeeded. Karl Philip is the third *Kur-Pfalz* of the Neuburg Line; his childless elder Brother (he who collected the Pictures at Düsseldorf, once notable there) was second of the Neuburgs. They now, we say, are Electors Palatine, Head of the House; — and, we need not add, along with their Electorate and Neuburg Country, possess the Cleve-Jülich Moiety of Heritage, about which there was such worrying in time past. Nay the last *Kur-Pfalz* resided there, and collected the "Düsseldorf Gallery," as we have just said; though Karl Philip prefers Heidelberg hitherto.

To Friedrich Wilhelm the scarcity of progeny is a thrice-interesting fact. For if this actual Neuburg should leave no male heir, as is now humanly probable, — the Line of Neuburg too is out; and then great things

ought to follow for our Prussian House. Then, by the last Bargain, made in 1666, with all solemnity, between the Great Elector, our Grandfather of famous memory, and your serene Father the then Pfalz-Neuburg, subsequently Kur-Pfalz, likewise of famous memory, son of the Beslapped, — the whole Heritage falls to Prussia, no other Pfalz Branch having thenceforth the least claim to it. Bargain was express; signed, sealed, sanctioned, drawn-out on the due extent of sheepskin, which can still be read. Bargain clear enough: but will this Karl Philip incline to keep it?

That may one day be the interesting question. But that is not the question of controversy at present: not that, but another; for Karl Philip, it would seem, is to be a frequent stone-of-stumbling to the Prussian House. The present question is of a Protestant-Papist matter; into which Friedrich Wilhelm has been drawn by his public-spirit alone.

Karl Philip and his Heidelberg Protestants.

The Pfalz population was, from of old, Protestant-Calvinist; the Electors-Palatine used to be distinguished for their forwardness in that matter. So it still is with the Pfalz population; but with the Electors, now that the House of Simmern is out, and that of Neuburg in, it is not so. The Neuburgs, ever since that slap on the face, have continued Popish; a sore fact for this Protestant population, when it got them for Sovereigns. Karl Philip's Father, an old soldier at Vienna, and the

elder Brother, a collector of Pictures at Düsseldorf, did not outwardly much molest the creed of their subjects. Protestants, and the remnant of Catholics (remnant naturally rather expanding now that the Court shone on it), were allowed to live in peace, according to the Treaty of Westphalia, or nearly so; dividing the churches and church-revenues equitably between them, as directed there. But now that Karl Philip is come in, there is no mistaking his procedures. He has come home to Heidelberg with a retinue of Jesuits about him; to whom the poor old gentleman, looking before and after on this troublous world, finds it salutary to give ear.

His nibblings at Protestant rights, his contrivances to slide Catholics into churches which were not theirs, and the like foul-play in that matter, had been sorrowful to see, for some time past. The Elector of Maintz, Chief-Priest of Germany, is busy in the same bad direction; he and others. Indeed, ever since the Peace of Ryswick, where Louis XIV. surreptitiously introduced a certain "Clause," which could never be got rid-of again,* nibbling aggressions of this kind have

* "*Clause of the Fourth Article*" is the technical name of it. *Fourth Article* stipulates that King Louis XIV. shall punctually restore all manner of towns and places, in the Palatinate &c. (much burnt, somewhat be-jesuited too, in late Wars, by the said King, during his occupancy): *Clause of Fourth Article* (added to it, by a quirk, "at midnight," say the Books) contains merely these words, "*Religione tamen Catholicâ Romanâ, in locis sic restitutis, in statu quo nunc est remanente*: Roman Catholic religion to continue as it now is" (as we have made it to be) "in such towns and places." — Which *Clause* gave rise to very great but ineffectual lamenting and debating. (Schöll, *Traité de Paix* (Par. 1817), i. 433-8; Buchholz; Spittler, *Geschichte Württembergs*; &c.)

gone-on more and more. Always too sluggishly resisted by the *Corpus Evangelicorum*, in the Diets or otherwise, the "United Protestant Sovereigns" not being an active "Body" there. And now more sluggishly than ever; — said *Corpus* having August Elector of Saxony, Catholic (Sham-Catholic) King of Poland, for its Official Head; "August the Physically Strong," a man highly unconcerned for matters Evangelical! So that the nibblings go-on worse and worse. An offence to all Protestant Rulers who had any conscience; at length an unbearable one to Friedrich Wilhelm, who, alone of them all, decided to intervene effectually, and say, at whatever risk there might be, We will not stand it!

Karl Philip, after some nibblings, took-up the Heidelberg Catechism (which candidly calls the Mass "idolatrous"), and ordered said Catechism, an Authorised Book, to cease in his Dominions. Hessen-Cassel, a Protestant neighbour, pleaded, remonstrated, Friedrich Wilhelm glooming in the rear; but to no purpose. Our old gentleman, his Priests being very diligent upon him, decided next to get possession of the *Heilige-Geist Kirche* (Church of the Holy Ghost, principal Place of Worship at Heidelberg), and make it his principal Cathedral Church there. By Treaty of Westphalia, or peaceably otherwise, the Catholics are already in possession of the Choir: but the whole Church would be so much better. "Was it not Catholic once?" thought Karl Philip to himself: "built by our noble Ancestor Kaiser Rupert of the Pfalz, Rupert *Klemm* ('Pincers,' so-named for his firmness of mind): — why should

these Heretics have it? I will build them another!" These thoughts, in 1719, the third year of Karl Philip's rule, had broken-out into open action (29th August, 4th September the consummation of it);* and precisely in the time when Friedrich Wilhelm was penning that first Didactic Morsel which we read, grave clouds from the Palatinate were beginning to overshadow the royal mind more or less.

For the poor Heidelberg Consistorium, as they could not undertake to give-up their Church on request of his Serenity, — "How dare we, or can we?" answered they, — had been driven-out by compulsion and stratagem. Partly strategic was the plan adopted, to avoid violence; smith's picklocks being employed, and also mason's crowbars: but the end was, On the 31st of August 1719, Consistorium and Congregation found themselves fairly in the street, and the *Heilige-Geist Kirche* clean gone from them. Screen of the Choir is torn down; one big Catholic Edifice now; getting decorated into a Court Church, where Serene Highness may feel his mind comfortable.

The poor Heidelbergers, thus thrown into the street, made applications, lamentations; but with small prospect of help: to whom apply with any sure prospect? Remonstrances from Hessen-Cassel have proved unavailing with his bigoted Serene Highness. *Corpus Evangelicorum*, so presided-over as at present, what can be had of such a Corpus? Long-winded lucubrations at the utmost; real action, in such a matter, none.

* Mauvillon, i. 340-345.

Or will the Kaiser, his Jesuits advising him, interfere to do us justice? Kur-Maintz and the rest; — it is everywhere one story. Everywhere unhappy Protestantism getting bad usage, and ever worse; and no *Corpus Evangelicorum*, or appointed Watchdog, doing other than hang its ears, and look sorry for itself and us! —

The Heidelbergers, however, had applied to Friedrich Wilhelm among others. Friedrich Wilhelm, who had long looked on these Anti-Protestant phenomena with increasing anger, found now that this of the Heidelberg Catechism and *Heilige-Geist Kirche* was enough to make one's patience run-over. Your unruly Catholic bull, plunging about, and goring men in that mad absurd manner, it will behove that somebody take him by the horns, or by the tail, and teach him manners. Teach him, not by vocal precepts, it is likely, which would avail nothing on such a brute, but by practical cudgelling and scourging to the due pitch. Pacific Friedrich Wilhelm perceived that he himself would have to do that disagreeable feat: — the growl of him, on coming to such resolution, must have been consolatory to these poor Heidelbergers, when they applied! — His plan is very simple, as the plans of genius are; but a plan leading direct to the end desired, and probably the only one that would have done so, in the circumstances. Cudgel in hand, he takes the Catholic bull, — shall we say, by the horns? — more properly perhaps by the tail; and teaches him manners,

*Friedrich Wilhelm's method — proves remedial in
Heidelberg.*

Friedrich Wilhelm's first step, of course, was to remonstrate pacifically with his Serene Highness on the Heidelberg-Church affair: from this he probably expected nothing; nor did he get anything. Getting nothing from this, and the countenance of external Protestant Powers, especially of George I. and the Dutch, being promised him in ulterior measures, he directed his Administrative Officials in Magdeburg, in Minden, in Hamersleben, where are Catholic Foundations of importance, to assemble the Catholic Canons, Abbots, chief Priests and all whom it might concern in these three Places, and to signify to them as follows:

"From us, your Protestant Sovereign, you yourselves and all men will witness, you have hitherto had the best of usage, fair-play, according to the Laws of the *Reich*, and even more. With the Protestants at Heidelberg, on the part of the Catholic Powers, it is different. It must cease to be different; it must become the same. And to make it do so, you are the implement I have. Sorry for it, but there is no other handy. From this day your Churches also are closed, your Public Worship ceases, and furthermore your Revenues cease; and all makes dead halt, and falls torpid in respect of you. From this day; and so continues, till the day (may it be soon!) when the Heidelberg Church of the Holy Ghost is opened again, and right

done in that question. Be it yours to speed such day: it is you that can and will, you who know those high Catholic regions, inaccessible to your Protestant Sovereign. Till then you are as dead men; temporarily fallen dead for a purpose. And herewith God have you in his keeping!"*

That was Friedrich Wilhelm's plan; the simplest, but probably the one effectual plan. Infallible this plan, if you dare stand upon it; which Friedrich Wilhelm does. He has a formidable Army, ready for fight; a Treasury or Army-Chest in good order. George I. seconds, according to bargain; shuts the Catholic Church at Zelle in his Lüneburg Country, in like fashion; Dutch, too, and Swiss will endorse the matter, should it grow too serious. All which, involving some diplomacy and correspondence, is managed with the due promptitude, moreover.** And so certain doors are locked; and Friedrich Wilhelm's word, unalterable as gravitation, has gone forth. In this manner is the mad Catholic bull taken by the *tail*: keep fast hold, and apply your cudgel duly in that attitude, he will not gore you any more!

The Magdeburg-Hamersleben people shrieked piteously; not to Friedrich Wilhelm, whom they knew to be deaf on that side of his head, but to the Kaiser, to the Pope, to the Serenity of Heidelberg. Serene High-

* Mauvillon, i. 347, 349.

** Church of Zelle shut-up, 4th November; Minden, 28th November; Monastery of Hamersleben, 3d December, &c. (Pütter: *Historische Entwicklung der heutigen Staatsverfassung des Deutschen Reichs*, Göttingen, 1788, ii. 384, 390.)

ness of Heidelberg was much huffed; Kaiser dreadfully so, and wrote heavy menacing rebukes. To which Friedrich Wilhelm listened with a minimum of reply; — keeping firm hold of the tail, in such bellowing of the animal. The end was, Serene Highness had to comply; within three months, Kaiser, Serene Highness and the other parties interested, found that there would be nothing for it but to compose themselves: and do what was just. April 16th, 1720, the Protestants are reinstated in their *Heilige-Geist Kirche*; Heidelberg Catechism goes its free course again, May 16th; and one Baron Reck* is appointed Commissioner, from the *Corpus Evangelicorum*, to Heidelberg; who continues rigorously inspecting Church matters there for a considerable time, much to the grief of Highness and Jesuits, till he can report that all is as it should be on that head. Karl Philip felt so disgusted with these results, he removed his Court, that same year, to Mannheim; quitted Heidelberg; to the discouragement and visible decay of the place; and, in spite of humble petitions and remonstrances, never would return; neither he nor those that followed him would shift from Mannheim again, to this day.

Prussian Majesty has displeased the Kaiser and the King of Poland.

Friedrich Wilhelm's praises from the Protestant public were great, on this occasion. Nor can we, who

* Michaelis, II. 95; Pütter, II. 384, 390; Buchholz, p. 61-63

lie much farther from it in every sense, refuse him some grin of approval. Act, and manner of doing the act, are creditably of a piece with Friedrich Wilhelm; physiognomic of the rugged veracious man. It is one of several such acts done by him: for it was a duty apt to recur in Germany, in his day. This duty Friedrich Wilhelm, a solid Protestant after his sort, and convinced of the "nothingness and nonsensicality (*Ungrund und Absurdität*) of Papistry," was always honourably prompt to do. There is an honest bacon-and-greens conscience in the man; almost the one conscience you can find in any royal man of that day. Promptly, without tremulous counting of costs, he always starts up, solid as oak, on the occurrence of such a thing, and says, "That is unjust; contrary to the Treaty of Westphalia; you will have to put-down that!" — And if words avail not, his plan is always this same: Clap a similar thumbscrew, pressure equitably calculated, on the Catholics of Prussia; these can complain to their Popes and Jesuit Dignitaries: these are under thumbscrew till the Protestant pressure be removed. Which always did rectify the matter in a little time. One other of these instances, that of the Salzburg Protestants, the last such instance, as this of Heidelberg was the first, will by and by claim notice from us.

It is very observable, how Friedrich Wilhelm, hating quarrels, was ever ready to turn-out for quarrel on such an occasion; though otherwise conspicuously a King who staid well at home, looking after his own

affairs; meddling with no neighbour that would be at peace with him. This properly is Friedrich Wilhelm's "sphere of political activity" among his contemporaries; this small quasi-domestic sphere, of forbidding injury to Protestants. A most small sphere, but then a genuine one: nor did he seek even this, had it not forced itself upon him. And truly we might ask, What has become of the other more considerable "spheres" in that epoch? The supremest loud-trumpeting "political activities" which then filled the world and its newspapers, what has the upshot of them universally been? Zero, and oblivion; no other. While this poor Friedrich-Wilhelm sphere is perhaps still a countable quantity. Wise is he who stays well at home, and does the duty he finds lying there! —

Great favour from the Protestant public: but, on the other hand, his Majesty had given offence in high places. What help for it? The thing was a point of conscience with him; natural to the surly Royal Overseer, going his rounds in the world, stick in hand! However, the Kaiser was altogether gloomy of brow at such disobedience. A Kaiser unfriendly to Friedrich Wilhelm: witness that of the *Ritter-Dienst* (our unreasonable Magdeburg Ritters, countenanced by him, on such terms, in such style too), and other offensive instances that could be given. Perhaps the Kaiser will not always continue gloomy of brow; perhaps the thoughts of the Imperial breast may alter, on our behalf or his own, one day? —

Nor could King August the Physically Strong be

Carlyle, Frederic the Great, II.

glad to see his "Director" function virtually superseded, in this triumphant way. A year or two ago, Friedrich Wilhelm had, with the due cautions and politic reserves, inquired of the *Corpus Evangelicorum*, "If they thought the present Directorship (that of August the Physically Strong) a good one?" and "Whether he, Friedrich Wilhelm, ought not perhaps himself to be Director?" — To which, though the answer was clear as noon-day, this poor Corpus had only mumbled some "*Quieta non movere*," or other wise-foolish saw; and helplessly shrugged its shoulders.* But King August himself, — though a jovial social kind of animal, quite otherwise occupied in the world; busy producing his Three-hundred-and-fifty-four Bastards there, and not careful of Church matters at all, — had expressed his indignant surprise. And now, it would seem nevertheless, though the title remains where it was, the function has fallen to another, who actually does it: a thing to provoke comparisons in the public.

Clement the Hungarian Forger, vender of false state-secrets, is well hanged; went to the gallows (18th April 1720) with much circumstance, just two days before that Heidelberg Church was got reopened. But the suspicions sown by Clement cannot quite be abolished by the hanging of him: Forger indisputably; but

* 1717-1719, when August's *Kurprinz*, Heir-Apparent, likewise declared himself Papist, to the horror and astonishment of poor Saxony, and wedded the late Kaiser Joseph's Daughter: — not to Father August's horror; who was steering towards "popularity in Poland," "hereditary Polish Crown," &c. with the young man. (Buchholz, i. 53-56.)

who knows whether he had not something of fact for basis? What with Clement, what with this Heidelberg business, the Court of Berlin has fallen wrong with Dresden, with Vienna itself, and important clouds have risen.

There is an absurd Flame of War, blown-out by Admiral Byng; and a new Man of Genius announces himself to the dim Populations.

The poor Kaiser himself is otherwise in trouble of his own, at this time. The Spaniards and he have fallen-out, in spite of Utrecht Treaty and Rastadt ditto; the Spaniards have taken Sicily from him: and precisely in those days while Karl Philip took to shutting-up the *Heilige-Geist* Church at Heidelberg, there was, loud enough in all the Newspapers, silent as it now is, a "Siege of Messina" going on; Imperial and Piedmontese troops doing duty by land, Admiral Byng still more effectively by sea, for the purpose of getting Sicily back. Which was achieved by and by, though at an extremely languid pace.* One of the most tedious Sieges; one of the paltriest languid Wars (of extreme virulence and extreme feebleness, neither party having

* Byng's Sea-fight, 10th August 1718 (Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, iii. 468); whereupon the Spaniards, who had hardly yet completed their capture of Messina, are besieged in it; — 29th October 1719, Messina retaken (this is the "Siege of Messina"): February 1720, Peace is clapt-up (the chief article, that Alberoni shall be packed away) and a "Congress of Cambrai" is to meet, and settle everything.

any cash left), — and for an object which could not be excelled in insignificance. Object highly interesting to Kaiser Karl VI. and Elizabeth Farnese Termagant Queen of Spain. These two were red, or even were pale, with interest in it; and to the rest of Adam's Posterity it was not intrinsically worth an ounce of gunpowder, many tons of that and of better commodities as they had to spend upon it. True, the Spanish Navy got well lamed in the business; Spanish Fleet blown mostly to destruction, — "Roads of Messina, 10th August 1718," by the dextrous Byng (a creditable handy figure both in Peace and War) and his considerable Seafight there: — if that was an object to Spain or mankind, that was accomplished. But the "War," except that many men were killed in it, and much vain babble was uttered upon it, ranks otherwise with that of Don Quixote, for conquest of the enchanted Helmet of Mambrino, which when looked into proved to be a Barber's Basin.

Congress of Cambrai, and other high Gatherings and convulsive Doings, which all proved futile, and look almost like Lapland witchcraft now to us, will have to follow this futility of a War. It is the fruit of a long series of enchanted adventures, on which Kaiser Karl, — duelling with that Spanish Virago, Satan's Invisible World in the rear of her, — has now embarked, to the woe of mankind, for the rest of his life. The first of those terrifico-ludicrous paroxysms of crisis into which he throws the European Universe; he with his Enchanted Barber's-Basin enterprises; —

18th November 1718.

as perhaps was fit enough, in an Epoch presided-over by the Nightmares. Congress of Cambrai is to follow; and much else equally spectral. About all which, there will be enough to say anon! For it was a fearful operation, though a ludicrous one, this of the poor Kaiser; and it tormented not the big Nations only, and threw an absurd Europe into paroxysm after paroxysm; but it whirled-up, in its wide-sweeping skirts, our little Fritz and his Sister, and almost dashed the lives out of them, as we shall see! Which last is perhaps the one claim it now has to a cursory mention from mankind.

Byng's Seafight, done with due dexterity of manœuvring, and then with due emphasis of broadsiding, decisive of that absurd War, and almost the one creditable action in it, dates itself 10th August 1718. And about three months later, on the mimic stage at Paris there came out a Piece, *Edipe* the title of it,* by one François Arouet, a young gentleman about twenty-two; and had such a run as seldom was; — apprising the French Populations that, to all appearance, a new man of genius had appeared among them (not intimating what work he would do); and greatly angering old M. Arouet of the Chamber of Accounts; who thereby found his Son as good as cast into the whirlpools, and a solid Law-career thenceforth impossible for the young fool. — The name of that "M. Arouet junior" changes

* 18th November 1718.

itself, some years hence, into *M. de Voltaire*; under which latter designation he will conspicuously reappear in this Narrative.

And now we will go to our little Crown-Prince again; — ignorant, he, of all this that is mounting-up in the distance, and that will envelop him one day.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE CROWN-PRINCE'S PROGRESS IN HIS SCHOOLING.

WHILHELMINA says,* her Brother was "slow" in learning: we may presume, she means idle, volatile, not always prompt in fixing his attention to what did not interest him. Moreover, he was often weakly in health, as she herself adds; so that exertion was not recommendable for him. Herr von Loen (a witty Prussian Official, and famed man-of-letters once, though forgotten now) testifies expressly that the Boy was of bright parts, and that he made rapid progress. "The "Crown-Prince manifests in this tender age" (his seventh year) "an uncommon capacity; nay we may say, some-thing quite extraordinary (*etwas ganz Ausserordentliches*). "He is a most alert and vivacious Prince; he has fine "and sprightly manners; and shows a certain kindly "sociality, and so affectionate a disposition that all "things may be hoped of him. The French Lady who" (under Roucoules) "has had charge of his learning "hitherto, cannot speak of him without enthusiasm. "'*C'est un esprit angélique* (A little angel),' she is wont "to say. He takes up, and learns, whatever is put "before him, with the greatest facility."**

For the rest, that Friedrich Wilhelm's intentions and Rhadamanthine regulations, in regard to him, were

* *Mémoires*, i. 22.

** Von Loen: *Kleine Schriften*, II. 27 (as cited in Rüdtenbeck, No IV. 479).

fulfilled in every point, we will by no means affirm. Rules of such exceeding preciseness, if grounded here and there only on the *sic-volo*, how could they be always kept, except on the surface and to the eye merely? The good Duhan, diligent to open his Pupil's mind, and give Nature fair-play, had practically found it inexpedient to tie him too rigorously to the arbitrary formal departments, where no natural curiosity, but only order from without, urges the ingenious pupil. What maximum strictness in school-drill there can have been, we may infer from one thing, were there no other: the ingenious Pupil's mode of *spelling*. Fritz learned to write a fine, free-flowing, rapid and legible business-hand; "Arithmetic" too, "Geography," and many other Useful Knowledges that had some geniality of character, or attractiveness in practice, were among his acquisitions; much, very much he learned in the course of his life; but to *spell*, much more to punctuate, and subdue the higher mysteries of Grammar to himself, was always an unachievable perfection. He did improve somewhat, in after-life; but here is the length to which he had carried that necessary art in the course of nine-years exertion, under Duhan and the subsidiary preceptors: it is in the following words and alphabetic letters that he gratefully bids Duhan farewell, — who surely cannot have been a very strict drill-sergeant in the arbitrary branches of schooling!

"*Mon cher Duhan Je Vous promais (promets) que quand
"j'aurez (j'aurai) mon propre argent en main, je Vous donnerai*

"(donnerai) *enuelément* (annuellement) 2400 *ecu* (écus) *par an*,
"et je vous *aimerai* (aimerai) *toujour encor* (toujours encore) *un*
"*peu plus q'asteure* (qu'à cette heure) *s'il me l'est* (m'est) *possible*
"(possible)."

"My dear Duhan, — I promise to you, that when I shall
"have my money in my own hands, I will give you *annually*
"2400 crowns" (say 350*l.*) "*every year*; and that I will love
"you always even a little more than at present, if that be
"possible.

"FREDERIC P.R." (Prince-Royal).

"Potsdam, le 20 de juin 1727." *

The Document has otherwise its beauty; but such is the spelling of it. In fact his Grammar, as he would himself now and then regretfully discern, in riper years, with some transient attempt or resolution to remedy or help it, seems to have come mainly by nature; so likewise his "*stylus*" both in French and German,—a very fair style, too, in the former dialect: — but as to his spelling, let him try as he liked, he never came within sight of perfection.

The things ordered with such rigorous minuteness, if but arbitrary things, were apt to be neglected; the things forbidden, especially in the like case, were apt to become doubly tempting. It appears, the prohibition of Latin gave rise to various attempts, on the part of Friedrich, to attain that desirable Language. Secret lessons, not from Duhan, but no doubt with Duhan's connivance, were from time to time undertaken with this view; once, it is recorded, the vigilant Friedrich

* Preuss, i, 22.

Wilhelm, going his rounds, came upon Fritz and one of his Preceptors (not Duhan but a subaltern) actually engaged in this illicit employment. Friedrich himself was wont to relate this anecdote in after-life.* They had Latin books, dictionaries, grammars on the table, all the contraband apparatus; busy with it there, like a pair of coiners taken in the fact. Among other Books was a copy of the Golden Bull of Kaiser Karl IV., — *Aurea Bulla*, from the little golden bullets or pellets hung to it, — by which sublime Document, as perhaps we hinted long ago, certain so-called Fundamental Constitutions, or at least formalities and solemn practices, method of election, rule of precedence, and the like, of the Holy Roman Empire, had at last been settled on a sure footing, by that busy little Kaiser, some three-hundred-and-fifty years before; a Document venerable almost next to the Bible in Friedrich Wilhelm's loyal eyes. "What is this; what are "you venturing upon here?" exclaims Paternal Vigilance, in an astonished dangerous tone. "*Ihro Majestät, ich "explicire dem Prinzen Auream Bullam,*" exclaimed the trembling pedagogue: "Your Majesty, I am explaining "*Aurea Bulla* (Golden Bull) to the Prince!" — "Dog, "I will Golden-Bull you!" said his Majesty flourishing his rattan, "*Ich will dich, Schurke, beauream bullam!*" which sent the terrified wretch off at the top of his speed, and ended the Latin for that time.**

* Büsching: *Beiträge zu der Lebensgeschichte denkwürdiger Personen*, v. 23. Preuss, i. 24.

** Förster, i. 356.

Friedrich's Latin could never come to much, under these impediments. But he retained some smatterings of it in mature life; and was rather fond of producing his classical scraps, — often in an altogether mouldy, and indeed hitherto inexplicable condition. "*De gustibus non est disputandus*," "*Beati possedentes*," "*Com-pille intrare*," "*Beatus pauperes spiritus*;" the meaning of these can be guessed: but "*Tot verbas tot spon-dera*," for example, — what can any commentator make of that? "*Festina lente*," "*Dominus vobiscum*," "*Flectamus genua*," "*Quod bene notandum*;" these phrases too, and some three or four others of the like, have been riddled from his Writings by diligent men:* "*O tempora, O mores!* You see I don't forget my Latin," writes he once.

The worst fruit of these contraband operations was, that they involved the Boy in clandestine practices, secret disobediences apt to be found-out from time to time, and tended to alienate his Father from him. Of which sad mutual humour we already find traces in that early Wusterhausen Document: "Not to be so dirty," says the reproving Father. And the Boy does not take to hunting at all; likes verses, story-books, flute-playing better; seems to be of effeminate tendencies, an *effeminirter Kerl*; affects French modes, combs-out his hair, like a cockatoo, the foolish French fop, instead of conforming to the Army-regulation, which prescribes close-cropping and a club!

* Pruss (i. 24) furnishes the whole stock of them.

This latter grievance Friedrich Wilhelm decided, at last, to abate, and have done with; this, for one. It is an authentic fact, though not dated, — dating perhaps from about Fritz's fifteenth year. "Fritz is a *Querpfеifer und Poet*," not a Soldier! would his indignant Father growl; looking at those foreign effeminate ways of his. *Querpfеife*, that is simply "German-flute," "*Cross-pipe*" (or *flute* of any kind, for we English have thriftily made two useful words out of the Deutsch root); "*Cross-pipe*," being held *across* the mouth, horizontally. Worthless employment, if you are not born to be of the regimental band! thinks Friedrich Wilhelm. Fritz is celebrated, too, for his fine foot; a dapper little fellow, altogether pretty in the eyes of simple female courtiers, with his blond locks combed-out at the temples, with his bright eyes, sharp wit, and sparkling capricious ways. The cockatoo-locks, these at least we will abate! decides the Paternal mind.

And so, unexpectedly, Friedrich Wilhelm has commanded these bright locks, as contrary to military fashion, of which Fritz has now unworthily the honour of being a specimen, to be ruthlessly shorn away. Inexorable: the *Hof-Chirurgus* (Court-Surgeon, of the nature of Barber-Surgeon), with scissors and comb, is here; ruthless Father standing by. Crop him, my jolly Barber; close down to the accurate standard; soaped club, instead of flowing locks; we suffer no exceptions in this military department: I stand here till it is done. Poor Fritz, they say, had tears in his eyes; but what help in tears? The judicious *Chirurgus*, however,

proved merciful. The judicious Chirurgus struck-in as if nothing loth, snack, snack; and made a great show of clipping. Friedrich Wilhelm took a newspaper till the job were done; the judicious Barber, still making a great show of work, combed-back rather than cut-off these Apollo locks; did Fritz accurately into soaped club, to the cursory eye; but left him capable of shaking-out his chevelure again on occasion, — to the lasting gratitude of Fritz.*

The Noltenius-and-Panzendorf Drill-exercise.

On the whole, as we said, a youth needs good assimilating power, if he is to grow in this world! Noltenius and Panzendorf, for instance, they were busy "teaching Friedrich religion." Rather a strange operation this too, if we were to look into it. We will not look too closely. Another pair of excellent most solemn drill-sergeants, in clerical black serge; they also are busy instilling dark doctrines into the bright young Boy, so far as possible; but do not seem at any time to have made too deep an impression on him. May we not say that, in matter of religion too, Friedrich was but ill-bested? Enlightened Edict-of-Nantes Protestantism, a cross between Bayle and Calvin: that was but indifferent babe's-milk to the little creature. Nor could Noltenius's Catechism, and ponderous drill-exercise in orthodox theology, much inspire a clear soul with pieties, and tendencies to soar Heavenward,

* Preuss, i. 16.

Alas, it is a dreary litter indeed, mere wagonload on wagonload of shot rubbish, that is heaped-round this new human plant, by Noltenius and Company, among others. A wonder only that they did not extinguish all Sense of the Highest in the poor young soul, and leave only a Sense of the Dreariest and Stupidest. But a healthy human soul can stand a great deal. The healthy soul shakes-off, in an unexpectedly victorious manner, immense masses of dry rubbish that have been shot upon it by its assiduous pedagogues and professors. What would become of any of us otherwise! Duhan, opening the young soul, by such modest gift as Duhan had, to recognise black from white a little, in this embroiled high Universe, is probably an exception in some small measure. But, Duhan excepted, it may be said to have been in spite of most of his teachers, and their diligent endeavours, that Friedrich did acquire some human piety; kept the sense of truth alive in his mind; *knew*, in whatever words he phrased it, the divine eternal nature of Duty; and managed, in the muddiest element and most eclipsed Age ever known, to steer by the heavenly loadstars, and (so we must candidly term it) to *follow* God's Law, in some measure with or without Noltenius for company.

Noltenius's *Catechism*, or ghostly Drill-manual for Fritz, at least the Catechism he had plied Wilhelmina with, which no doubt was the same, is still extant.* A very abstruse Piece; orthodox Lutheran-Calvinist, all

* Prens, i. 15; — specimens of it in Rödénbeck.

proved from Scripture; giving what account it can of this unfathomable Universe, to the young mind. To modern Prussians it by no means shines as the indubitable Theory of the Universe. Indignant modern Prussians produce excerpts from it, of an abstruse nature; and endeavour to deduce therefrom some of Friedrich's aberrations in matters of religion, which became notorious enough by and by. Alas, I fear, it would not have been easy, even for the modern Prussian, to produce a perfect Catechism for the use of Friedrich; this Universe still continues a little abstruse!

And there is another deeper thing to be remarked: the notion of "teaching" religion, in the way of drill-exercise; which is a very strange notion, though a common one, and not peculiar to Noltenius and Friedrich Wilhelm. Piety to God, the nobleness that inspires a human soul to struggle Heavenward, cannot be "taught" by the most exquisite catechisms, or the most industrious preachings and drillings. No; alas, no. Only by far other methods, — chiefly by silent continual Example, silently waiting for the favourable mood and moment, and aided then by a kind of miracle, well enough named "the grace of God," — can that sacred contagion pass from soul into soul. How much beyond whole Libraries of orthodox Theology is, sometimes, the mute action, the unconscious look of a father, of a mother, who *had* in them "Devoutness, pious Nobleness!" In whom the young soul, not unobservant, though not consciously observing, came at length to recognise it; to read it, in this irrefragable manner: a

seed planted thenceforth in the centre of his holiest affections forevermore!

Noltenius wore black serge; kept the corners of his mouth well down; and had written a Catechism of repute: but I know not that Noltenius carried much seed of living piety about with him; much affection from, or for, young Fritz he could not well carry. On the whole, it is a bad outlook on the religious side; and except in Apprenticeship to the rugged and as yet repulsive Honesties of Friedrich Wilhelm, I see no good element in it. Bayle-Calvin, with Noltenius and Catechisms of repute: there is no "religion" to be had, for a little Fritz, out of all that. Endless Doubt will be provided for him out of all that, probably disbelief of all that; — and on the whole, if any form at all, a very scraggy form of moral existence; from which the Highest shall be hopelessly absent; and in which anything High, anything not Low and Lying, will have double merit.

It is indeed amazing what quantities and kinds of extinct ideas apply for belief, sometimes in a menacing manner, to the poor mind of man, and poor mind of child, in these days. They come bullying-in upon him, in masses, as if they were quite living ideas; ideas of a dreadfully indispensable nature, the evident counterpart, and salutary interpretation, of Facts round him, which, it is promised the poor young creature, he *shall* recognise to correspond with them, one day. At which "correspondence," when the Facts are once well recognised, he has at last to ask himself, with amazement, "Did I ever recognise it, then?" Whereby come

results incalculable; not good results any of them; — some of them unspeakably bad! The case of Crown-Prince Friedrich in Berlin is not singular; all cities and places can still show the like. And when it will end, is not yet clear. But that it ever should have begun, will one day be the astonishment. As if the divinest function of a human being were not even that of believing; of discriminating, with his God-given intellect, what is from what is not; and as if the point were, to render that either an impossible function, or else what we must sorrowfully call a revolutionary, rebellious and mutinous one. O Noltenius, O Panzendorf, do for pity's sake take away your Catechetical ware; and say either nothing to the poor young Boy, or some small thing he will find to be *beyond* doubt when he can judge of it! Fever, pestilence, are bad for the body; but Doubt, impious mutiny, doubly impious hypocrisy, are these nothing for the mind? Who would go about inculcating Doubt, unless he were far astray indeed, and much at a loss for employment!

But the sorest fact in Friedrich's schooling, the sorest, for the present, though it ultimately proved perhaps the most beneficent one, being well dealt with by the young soul, and nobly subdued to his higher uses, remains still to be set forth. Which will be a long business, first and last!

CHAPTER XII.

CROWN-PRINCE FALLS INTO DISFAVOUR WITH PAPA.

THOSE vivacities of young Fritz, his taste for music, finery, those furtive excursions into the domain of Latin and forbidden things, were distasteful and incomprehensible to Friedrich Wilhelm: Where can such things end? They begin in disobedience and intolerable perversity; they will be the ruin of Prussia and of Fritz!—Here, in fact, has a great sorrow risen. We perceive the first small cracks of incurable divisions in the royal household; the breaking-out of fountains of bitterness, which by and by spread wide enough. A young sprightly capricious and vivacious Boy, inclined to self-will, had it been permitted; developing himself into foreign tastes, into French airs and ways; very ill seen by the heavy-footed practical Germanic Majesty.

The beginnings of this sad discrepancy are traceable from Friedrich's sixth or seventh year: "Not so dirty, Boy!" And there could be no lack of growth in the mutual ill-humour, while the Boy himself continued growing; enlarging in bulk and in activity of his own. Plenty of new children come, to divide our regard withal, and more are coming: five new Princesses, wise little Ulrique the youngest of them (named of Sweden and the happy Swedish Treaty), whom we love much for her grave staid ways. Nay, next after Ulrique,

comes even a new Prince; August Wilhelm, ten years younger than Friedrich; and is growing-up much more according to the paternal heart. Pretty children, all of them, more or less; and towardly, and comfortable to a Father; — and the worst of them a paragon of beauty, in comparison to perverse, clandestine, disobedient Fritz, with his French fopperies, flutings, and cockatoo fashions of hair! —

And so the silent divulsion, silent on Fritz's part, exploding loud enough now and then on his Father's part, goes steadily on, splitting ever wider; new offences ever superadding themselves. Till, at last, the rugged Father has grown to hate the son; and longs, with sorrowful indignation, that it were possible to make August Wilhelm Crown-Prince in his stead. This Fritz ought to fashion himself according to his Father's pattern, a well-meant honest pattern; and he does not! Alas, your Majesty, it cannot be. It is the new generation come; which cannot live quite as the old one did. A perennial controversy in human life; coeval with the genealogies of men. This little Boy should have been the excellent paternal Majesty's exact counterpart; resembling him, at all points, "as a little sixpence does a big half-crown:" but we perceive he cannot. This is a new coin, with a stamp of its own. A surprising *Friedrich d'or* this; and may prove a good piece yet; but will never be the half-crown your Majesty requires! —

Conceive a rugged thick-sided Squire Western, of

supreme degree, — for this Squire Western is a hot Hohenzollern, and wears a crown royal; — conceive such a burly *ne-plus-ultra* of a Squire, with his broad-based rectitudes and surly irrefragabilities; the honest German instincts of the man, convictions certain as the Fates, but capable of no utterance, or next to none, in words; and that he produces a Son who takes into Voltairism, piping, fiddling, and belles-lettres, with apparently a total contempt for Grumkow and the giant-regiment! Sulphurous rage, in gusts or in lasting tempests, rising from a fund of just implacability, is inevitable. Such as we shall see.

The Mother, as mothers will, secretly favours Fritz; anxious to screen him in the day of high-wind. Withal she has plans of her own in regard to Fritz, and the others; being a lady of many plans. That of the "Double-Marriage," for example; of marrying her Prince and Princess to a Princess and Prince of the English-Hanoverian House; it was a pleasant eligible plan, consented to by Papa and the other parties; but when it came to be perfected by treaty, amid the rubs of external and internal politics, what new amazing discrepancies rose upon her poor children and her! Fearfully aggravating the quarrel of Father and Son, almost to the fatal point. Of that "Double-Marriage," whirled-up in a universe of intriguing diplomacies, in the "skirts of the Kaiser's huge Spectre-Hunt," as we have called it, there will be sad things to say by and by.

Plans her Majesty has; and silently a will of her own. She loves all her children, especially Fritz, and would so love that they loved her. — For the rest, all along, Fritz and Wilhelmina are sure allies. We perceive they have fallen into a kind of cipher-speech;* they communicate with one another by telegraphic signs. One of their words, "*Ragotin* (Stumpy)," whom does the reader think it designates? Papa himself, the Royal Majesty of Prussia, Friedrich Wilhelm I., he to his rebellious children is tyrant "Stumpy," and no better; being indeed short of stature and growing ever thicker, and surlier in these provocations! —

Such incurable discrepancies have risen in the Berlin Palace; fountains of bitterness flowing ever wider, till they made life all bitter for Son and for Father; necessitating the proud Son to hypocrisies towards his terrible Father, which were very foreign to the proud youth, had there been any other resource. But there was none, now or afterwards. Even when the young man, driven to reflection and insight by intolerable miseries, had begun to recognise the worth of his surly Rhadamanthine Father, and the intrinsic wisdom of much that he had meant with him, the Father hardly ever could, or could only by fits, completely recognise the Son's worth. Rugged suspicious Papa requires always to be humoured, cajoled, even when our feeling towards him is genuine and loyal. Friedrich, to the last, we can perceive, has to assume masquerade in

* *Mémoires de Barcith*, t. 168.

addressing him, in writing to him, — and, in spite of real love, must have felt it a relief when such a thing was over.

That is, all along, a sad element of Friedrich's education! Out of which there might have come incalculable damage to the young man, had his natural assimilative powers, to extract benefit from all things, been less considerable. As it was, he gained self-help from it; gained reticence, the power to keep his own counsel; and did not let the hypocrisy take hold of him, or be other than a hateful compulsory masquerade. At an uncommonly early age, he stands before us accomplished in endurance, for one thing; a very bright young Stoic of his sort; silently prepared for the injustices of men and things. And as for the masquerade, let us hope it was essentially foreign even to the skin of the man! The reader will judge as he goes on. "*Je n'ai jamais trompé personne durant ma vie*, I have "never deceived anybody during my life; still less will "I deceive posterity,"* writes Friedrich when his head was now grown very gray.

* *Mémoires depuis la Paix de Hubertsbourg, 1763-1774 (Avant Propos), (Euvres* vii 8.

CHAPTER XIII.

RESULTS OF THE CROWN-PRINCE'S SCHOOLING.

NEITHER as to intellectual culture, in Duhan's special sphere, and with all Duhan's goodwill, was the opportunity extremely golden. It cannot be said that Friedrich, who *spells* in the way we saw, "*asteure*" for "*à cette heure*," has made shining acquisitions on the literary side. However, in the longrun it becomes clear, his intellect, roving on devious courses, or plodding along the prescribed tram-roads, had been wide-awake; and busy all the while, bringing-in abundant pabulum of an irregular nature.

He did learn "Arithmetic," "Geography," and the other useful knowledges that were indispensable to him. He knows History extensively; though rather the Roman, French, and general European as the French have taught it him, than that of "Hessen, Brunswick, England," or even the "Electoral and Royal House of Brandenburg," which Papa had recommended. He read History, where he could find it readable, to the end of his life; and had early begun reading it, — immensely eager to learn, in his little head, what strange things had been, and were, in this strange Planet he was come into.

We notice with pleasure a lively taste for facts in

the little Boy; which continued to be the taste of the Man, in an eminent degree. Fictions he also knows; an eager extensive reader of what is called Poetry, Literature, and himself a performer in that province by and by: but it is observable how much of Realism there always is in his Literature; how close, here as elsewhere, he always hangs on the practical truth of things; how Fiction itself is either an expository illustrative garment of Fact, or else is of no value to him. Romantic readers of his Literature are much disappointed in consequence, and pronounce it bad Literature; — and sure enough, in several senses, it is not to be called good! Bad Literature, they say; shallow, barren, most unsatisfactory to a reader of romantic appetites. Which is a correct verdict, as to the romantic appetites and it. But to the man himself, this quality of mind is of immense moment and advantage; and forms truly the basis of all he was good-for in life. Once for all, he has no pleasure in dreams, in particoloured clouds and nothingnesses. All his curiosities gravitate towards what exists, what has being and reality round him. That is the significant thing to him; that he would right gladly know, being already related to that, as friend or as enemy; and feeling an unconscious indissoluble kinship, who shall say of what importance, towards all that. For he too is a little Fact, big as can be to himself; and in the whole Universe there exists nothing as fact but is a fellow-creature of his.

That our little Fritz tends that way, ought to give

Noltenius, Finkenstein, and other interested parties, the very highest satisfaction. It is an excellent symptom of his intellect, this of gravitating irresistibly towards realities. Better symptom of its quality (whatever *quantity* there be of it), human intellect cannot show for itself. However it may go with Literature, and satisfaction to readers of romantic appetites, this young soul promises to become a successful Worker one day, and to *do* something under the Sun. For work is of an extremely unfictitious nature; and no man can roof his house with clouds and moonshine, so as to turn the rain from him.

It is also to be noted that this style of French, though he spelt it so ill, and never had the least mastery of punctuation, has real merit. Rapidity, easy vivacity, perfect clearness, here and there a certain quaint expressiveness: on the whole, he had learned the Art of Speech, from those old French Governesses, in those old and new French Books of his. We can also say of his Literature, of what he hastily wrote in mature life, that it has much more worth, even as Literature, than the common romantic appetite assigns to it. A vein of distinct sense, and good interior articulation, is never wanting in that thin-flowing utterance. The true is well riddled-out from amid the false; the important and essential are alone given us, the unimportant and superfluous honestly thrown away. A lean wiry veracity (an immense advantage in any Literature, good or bad!) is everywhere beneficently

observable; the *quality* of the intellect always extremely good, whatever its quantity may be.

It is true, his spelling, — "*asteure*" for "*à cette heure*," — is very bad. And as for punctuation, he never could understand the mystery of it: he merely scatters a few commas and dashes, as if they were shaken-out of a pepper-box, upon his page, and so leaves it. These are deficiencies lying very bare to criticism; and I confess I never could completely understand them in such a man. He that would have ordered arrest for the smallest speck of mud on a man's buff-belt, indignant that any pipe-clayed portion of a man should not be perfectly pipe-clayed: how could he tolerate false spelling, and commas shaken as out of a pepper-box over his page? It is probable he cared little about Literature, after all; cared, at least, only about the essentials of it; had practically no ambition for himself, or none considerable, in that kind; — and so might reckon exact obedience and punctuality, in a soldier, more important than good spelling to an amateur literary man. He never minded snuff upon his own chin, not even upon his waistcoat and breeches: A merely superficial thing, not worth bothering about, in the press of real business! —

That Friedrich's Course of Education did on the whole prosper, in spite of every drawback, is known to all men. He came out of it a man of clear and ever-improving intelligence; equipped with knowledge, true in essentials, if not punctiliously exact, upon all

manner of practical and speculative things, to a degree not only unexampled among modern Sovereign Princes so-called, but such as to distinguish him even among the studious class. Nay many "Men-of-Letters" have made a reputation for themselves, with but a fraction of the real knowledge concerning men and things, past and present, which Friedrich was possessed of. Already at the time when action came to be demanded of him, he was what we must call a well-informed and cultivated man; which character he never ceased to merit more and more; and as for the action, and the actions, — we shall see whether he was fit for these or not.

One point of supreme importance in his Education was all along made sure of, by the mere presence and presidency of Friedrich Wilhelm in the business: That there was an inflexible law of discipline everywhere active in it; that there was a Spartan rigour, frugality, veracity inculcated upon him. "Economy he is to study to the bottom;" and not only so, but, in another sense of the word, he is to practise economy; and does, or else suffers for not doing it. Economic of his time, first of all: generally every other noble economy will follow out of that, if a man once understand and practise that. Here was a truly valuable foundation laid: and as for the rest, Nature, in spite of shot-rubbish, had to do what she could in the rest.

But Nature had been very kind to this new child of hers. And among the confused hurtful elements of his Schooling, there was always, as we say, this emi-

nently salutary and most potent one, of its being, in the gross, an *Apprenticeship to Friedrich Wilhelm*, the Rhadamanthine Spartan King, who hates from his heart all empty Nonsense, and Unveracity most of all. Which one element, well aided by docility, by openness and loyalty of mind, on the Pupil's part, proved at length sufficient to conquer the others; as it were, to burn-up all the others, and reduce their sour dark smoke, abounding everywhere, into flame and illumination mostly. This radiant swift-paced Son owed much to the surly, irascible, sure-footed Father that bred him. Friedrich did at length see into Friedrich Wilhelm, across the abstruse, thunderous, sulphurous embodiments and accompaniments of the man; — and proved himself, in all manner of important respects, the filial sequel of Friedrich Wilhelm. These remarks of a certain Editor are perhaps worth adding:

“Friedrich Wilhelm, King of Prussia, did not set-up for a Pestalozzi; and the plan of education for his Son is open to manifold objections. Nevertheless, as Schoolmasters go, I much prefer him to most others we have at present. The wild man had discerned, with his rugged natural intelligence (not wasted-away in the idle element of speaking and of being spoken to, but kept wholesomely silent for most part), That human education is not, and cannot be, a thing of *vocables*. That it is a thing of earnest facts; of capabilities developed, of habits established, of dispositions well dealt with, of tendencies confirmed and tendencies repressed: — a laborious separating of the character into two *firmaments*; shutting-down the subterranean, well down and deep; an

“earth and waters, and what lies under them; then your everlasting azure sky, and immeasurable depths of æther, hanging serene overhead. To make of the human soul a Cosmos, so far as possible, that was Friedrich Wilhelm’s dumb notion: not to leave the human soul a mere Chaos; — how much less a Singing or eloquently Spouting Chaos, which is ten times worse than a Chaos left *mute*, confessedly chaotic and not cosmic! To develop the man into *doing* something; and withal into doing it as the Universe and the Eternal Laws require, — which is but another name for really doing and not merely seeming to do it: — that was Friedrich Wilhelm’s dumb notion: and it was, I can assure you, very far from being a foolish one, though there was no Latin in it, and “much of Prussian pipeclay!”

But the Congress of Cambrai is met, and much else is met and parted; and the Kaiser’s Spectre-Hunt, especially his Duel with the She-Dragon of Spain, is in full course; and it is time we were saying something of the Double-Marriage in a directly narrative way.

BOOK V.

**DOUBLE-MARRIAGE PROJECT, AND WHAT ELEMENT
IT FELL INTO**

1723-1726.

CHAPTER I.

DOUBLE-MARRIAGE IS DECIDED ON.

WE saw George I. at Berlin in October 1723, looking-out upon his little Grandson drilling the Cadets there; but we did not mention what important errand had brought his Majesty thither.

Visits between Hanover and Berlin had been frequent for a long time back; the young Queen of Prussia, sometimes with her Husband, sometimes without, running often over to see her Father; who, even after his accession to the English crown, was generally for some months every year to be met-with in those favourite regions of his. He himself did not much visit, being of taciturn splenetic nature: but this once he had agreed to return a visit they had lately made him, — where a certain weighty Business had been agreed upon, withal; which his Britannic Majesty was to consummate formally, by treaty, when the meeting in Berlin took effect. His Britannic Majesty, accordingly, is come; the business in hand is no other than that thrice-famous “Double-Marriage” of Prussia with England; which once had such a sound in the ear of Rumour, and still bulks so big in the archives of the Eighteenth Century; which worked such woe to all parties concerned in it; and is, in fact, a first-rate nui-

sance in the History of that poor Century, as written hitherto. Nuisance demanding urgently to be abated; — were that well possible at present. Which, alas, it is not, to any great degree; there being an important young Friedrich inextricably wrapt-up in it, to whom it was of such vital or almost fatal importance! Without a Friedrich, the affair could be reduced to something like its real size, and recorded in a few pages; or might even, with advantage, be forgotten altogether, and become zero. More gigantic instance of much ado about nothing has seldom occurred in human annals; — had not there been a Friedrich in the heart of it.

Crown-Prince Friedrich is still very young for marriage-speculations on his score: but Mamma has thought good to take matters in time. And so we shall, in the next ensuing parts of this poor History, have to hear almost as much about Marriage as in the foolishhest Three-volume Novel, and almost to still less purpose. For indeed, in that particular, Friedrich's young Life may be called a *Romance flung heels-over-head*; — Marriage being the one event there, round which all events turn, — but turn in the inverse or reverse way (as if the Devil were in them); not only towards no happy goal, for him or Mamma, or us, but at last towards hardly any goal at all for anybody! So mad did the affair grow; — and is so madly recorded in those inextricable, dateless, chaotic Books. We have now come to regions of Narrative, which seem to consist of murky Nothingness put on-boil; not land, or water, or air, or

fire, but a tumultuously whirling commixture of all the four; — of immense extent, too. Which must be got crossed, in some human manner. Courage, patience, good reader!

Queen Sophie Dorothee has taken Time by the Forelock.

Already, for a dozen years, this matter has been treated of. Queen Sophie Dorothee, ever since the birth of her Wilhelmina, has had the notion of it; and, on her first visit afterwards to Hanover, proposed it to "Princess Caroline," — Queen Caroline of England who was to be, and who in due course was; — an excellent accomplished Brandenburg-Anspach Lady, familiar from of old in the Prussian Court: "You, Caroline, Cousin dear, have a little Prince, Fritz, or let us call him *Fred*, since he is to be English; little Fred, who will one day, if all go right, be King of England. He is two years older than my little Wilhelmina: why should not they wed, and the two chief Protestant Houses, and Nations, thereby be united?" Princess Caroline was very willing; so was Electress Sophie, the Great-Grandmother of both the parties; so were the Georges, Father and Grandfather of Fred: little Fred himself was highly charmed, when told of it; even little Wilhelmina, with her dolls, looked pleasantly demure on the occasion. So it remained settled in fact, though not in form; and little Fred (a florid milk-faced foolish kind of Boy, I guess) made presents to his little Prussian Cousin, wrote bits of love-letters to

her; and all along afterwards fancied himself, and at length ardently enough became, her little lover and intended, — always rather a little fellow: — to which sentiments Wilhelmina signifies that she responded with the due maidenly indifference, but not in an offensive manner.

After our Prussian Fritz's birth, the matter took a still closer form: "You, dear Princess Caroline, you have now two little Princesses again, either of whom might suit my little Fritzchen: let us take Amelia, the second of them, who is nearest his age?" "Agreed!" answered Princess Caroline again. "Agreed!" answered all the parties interested: and so it was settled, that the Marriage of Prussia to England should be a Double one, Fred. of Hanover and England to Wilhelmina, Fritz of Prussia to Amelia; and children and parents lived thenceforth in the constant understanding that such, in due course of years, was to be the case, though nothing yet was formally concluded by treaty upon it.*

Queen Sophie Dorothee of Prussia was always eager enough for treaty, and conclusion to her scheme. True to it, she, as needle to the pole in all weathers; sometimes in the wildest weather, poor lady. Nor did the Hanover Serene Highnesses, at any time, draw back or falter: but having very soon got wafted across to England, into new more complex conditions, and wider anxieties in that new country, they were not so impressively eager as Queen Sophie, on this interesting point. Electress Sophie, judicious Gréat-Grandmother,

* Pöllnitz: *Memoiren*, II. 193.

was not now there: Electress Sophie had died about a month before queen Anne; and never saw the English Canaan, much as she had longed for it. George I., her son, a taciturn, rather splenetic elderly Gentleman, very foreign in England, and oftenest rather sulky there and elsewhere, was not in a humour to be forward in that particular business.

George I. had got into quarrel with his Prince of Wales, Fred's Father, — him who is one day to be George II., always a rather foolish little Prince, though his Wife Caroline was Wisdom's self in a manner: — George I. had other much more urgent cares than that of marrying his disobedient foolish little Prince of Wales's offspring; and he always pleaded difficulties, Acts of Parliament that would be needed, and the like, whenever Sophie Dorothee came to visit him at Hanover, and urge this matter. The taciturn, inarticulately thoughtful, rather sulky old Gentleman, he had weighty burdens lying on him; felt fretted and galled, in many ways; and had found life, Electoral and even Royal, a deceptive sumptuosity, little better than a more or less extensive "feast of *shells*," next to no real meat or drink left in it to the hungry heart of man. Wife sitting half-frantic in the Castle of Ahlden, waxing more and more into a gray-haired Megæra (with whom Sophie Dorothee under seven seals of secrecy corresponds a little, and even the Prince of Wales is suspected of wishing to correspond); a foolish disobedient Prince of Wales; Jacobite Pretender people with their Mar Rebellions, with their Alberoni combinations;

an English Parliament jangling and debating unmelodiously, whose very language is a mystery to us, nothing but Walpole in dog-latin to help us through it: truly it is not a Heaven-on-Earth altogether, much as Mother Sophie and her foolish favourite, our disobedient Prince of Wales, might long for it! And the Hanover Tail, the Robethons, Bernstorfs, Fabrices, even the Blackamoor Porters, — they are not beautiful either, to a taciturn Majesty of some sense, if he cared about their doings or them. Voracious, plunderous, all of them; like hounds, long hungry, got into a rich house which has no master, or a mere imaginary one. "*Mentiris impudentissime*," said Walpole in his dog-latin once, in our Royal presence, to one of these official plunderous gentlemen, "You tell an impudent lie!" — at which we only laughed.*

His Britannic Majesty by no means wanted sense, had not his situation been incurably absurd. In his young time he had served creditably enough against the Turks; twice commanded the *Reichs*-Army in the Marlborough Wars, and did at least testify his indignation at the inefficient state of it. His Foreign Politics, so-called, were not madder than those of others. Bremen and Verden he had bought a bargain; and it was natural to protect them by such resources as he had, English or other. Then there was the World-Spectre of the Pretender, stretching huge over Creation, like the Brocken-Spectre in hazy weather; — against whom

* Horace Walpole: *Reminiscences of George I. and George II.* (London, 1788).

how protect yourself, except by cannonading for the Kaiser at Messina; by rushing into every brabble that rose, and hiring the parties with money to fight it out well? It was the established method in that matter; method not of George's inventing, nor did it cease with George. As to Domestic Politics, except it were to keep quiet, and eat what the gods had provided, one does not find that he had any. — The sage Leibnitz would very fain have followed him to England; but, for reasons indifferently good, could never be allowed. If the truth must be told, the sage Leibnitz had a wisdom which now looks dreadfully like that of a wiseacre! In Mathematics even, — he did invent the Differential Calculus, but it is certain also he never could believe in Newton's System of the Universe, nor would read the *Principia* at all. For the rest, he was in quarrel about Newton with the Royal Society here; ill seen, it is probable, by this sage and the other. To the Hanover Official Gentlemen devouring their English dead-horse, it did not appear that his presence could be useful in these parts.*

Nor are the Hanover womankind his Majesty has about him, quasi-wives or not, of a soul-entrancing character; far indeed from that. Two in chief there are, a fat and a lean: the lean, called "Maypole" by the English populace, is "Duchess of Kendal," with excellent pension, in the English Peerages; Schulenburg the former German name of her; decidedly a quasi-wife

* Gubrauer, *Gottfried Freiherr von Leibnitz, eine Biographie* (Breslau, 1842); Ker of Keraland, *Memoirs of Secret Transactions* (London, 1737).

(influential, against her will, in that sad Königsmark Tragedy, at Hanover long since), who is fallen thin and old. "May-pole," — or bare Hop-pole, with the leaves all stript; lean, long, hard; — though she once had her summer verdures too; and still, as an old quasi-wife, or were it only as an old article of furniture, has her worth to the royal mind. Schulenburgs, kindred of hers, are high in the military line; some of whom we may meet.

Then, besides this lean one, there is a fat; of whom Walpole (Horace, who had seen her in boyhood) gives description. Big staring black eyes, with rim of circular eyebrow, like a coachwheel round its nave, very black the eyebrows also; vast red face; cheeks running into neck, neck blending indistinguishably with stomach, — a mere cataract of fluid tallow, skinned-over and curiously dizeden, according to Walpole's portraiture. This charming creature, Kielmannsegge by German name, was called "Countess of Darlington" in this country, — with excellent pension, as was natural. They all had pensions: even Queen Sophie Dorothee, I have noticed in our State-Paper Office, has her small pension, "800*l.* a-year on the Irish Establishment:" Irish Establishment will never miss such a pittance for our poor Child, and it may be useful over yonder! — This Kielmannsegge Countess of Darlington was, and is, believed by the gossiping English to have been a second simultaneous Mistress of his Majesty's; but seems, after all, to have been his Half-Sister and nothing more. Half-Sister (due to Gentleman Ernst and a

Countess Platen of bad Hanover fame); grown dreadfully fat; but not without shrewdness, perhaps affection; and worth something in this dull foreign country, mere cataract of animal oils as she has become. These Two are the amount of his Britannic Majesty's resources in that matter; resources surely not extensive, after all! —

His Britannic Majesty's day, in St. James's, is not of an interesting sort to him; and every evening, he comes precisely at a certain hour to drink beer, seasoned with a little tobacco, and the company of these two women. Drinks diligently in a sipping way, says Horace; and smokes, with such dull speech as there may be, — not till he is drunk, but only perceptibly drunkish; raised into a kind of cloudy narcotic Olympus, and opaquely superior to the ills of life; in which state he walks uncomplainingly to bed. Government, when it can by any art be avoided, he rarely meddles with; shows a rugged sagacity, where he does and must meddle: consigns it to Walpole in dog-latin, — laughs at his "*mentiris*." This is the First George; first triumph of the Constitutional Principle, which has since gone to such sublime heights among us, — heights which we at last begin to suspect might be depths, leading down, all men now ask: Whitherwards? A much-admired invention in its time, that of letting-go the rudder, or setting a wooden figure expensively dressed to take charge of it, and discerning that the ship would sail of itself so much more easily! Which it will, if a peculiarly good sea-boat, in certain kinds of sea, — for a time. Till the Sindbad "Magnetic

Mountains" begin to be felt pulling, or the circles of Charybdis get you in their sweep; and then what an invention it was! — This, we say, is the new Sovereign Man, whom the English People, being in some perplexity about the Pope and other points, have called-in from Hanover, to walk before them in the ways of heroism, and by command and by example guide Heavenwards their affairs and them. And they hope that he will do it? Or perhaps that their affairs will go thither of their own accord? Always a singular People! —

Poor George, careless of these ulterior issues, has always trouble enough with the mere daily details, Parliamentary insolences, Jacobite plottings, South-Sea Bubbles; and wishes to hunt, when he gets over to Hanover, rather than to make Marriage-Treaties. Besides, as Wilhelmina tells us, they have filled him with lies, these Hanover Women and their emissaries: "Your Princess Wilhelmina is a monster of ill-temper, crooked in the back and what-not," say they. If there is to be a Marriage, double or single, these Improper Females must first be persuaded to consent.* Difficulties enough. And there is none to help; Friedrich Wilhelm cares little about the matter, though he has given his Yes, — Yes, since you will.

But Sophie Dorothee is diligent and urgent, by all opportunities; — and, at length, in 1723, the conjuncture is propitious. Domestic Jacobitism, in the shape

* *Mémoires de Bareith.*

of Bishop Atterbury, has got itself well banished; Alberoni and his big schemes, years ago they are blown into outer darkness; Charles XII. is well dead, and of our Bremen and Verden no question henceforth; even the Kaiser's Spectre-Hunt, or Spanish Duel, is at rest for the present, and the Congress of Cambrai is sitting, or trying all it can to sit: at home or abroad, there is nothing, not even Wood's Irish Halfpence, as yet making noise. And on the other hand, Czar Peter is rumoured (not without foundation) to be coming westward, with some huge Armament; which, whether "intended for Sweden" or not, renders a Prussian alliance doubly valuable.

And so now at last, in this favourable aspect of the stars, King George, over at Herrenhausen, was by much management of his Daughter Sophie's, and after many hitches, brought to the mark. And Friedrich Wilhelm came over too; ostensibly to bring home his Queen, but in reality to hear his Father-in-law's compliance to the Double-Marriage; — for which his Prussian Majesty is willing enough, if others are willing. Praised be Heaven, King George has agreed to everything; consents, one propitious day (Autumn 1723, day not otherwise dated), — Czar Peter's Armament, and the questionable aspects in France, perhaps quickening his volitions a little. Upon which, Friedrich Wilhelm and Queen Sophie have returned home, content in that matter; and expect shortly his Britannic Majesty's counter-visit, to perfect the details, and make a Treaty of it.

His Britannic Majesty, we say, has in substance agreed to everything. And now, in the silence of Nature, the brown leaves of October still hanging to the trees in a picturesque manner, and Wood's Halfpence not yet begun to jingle in the Drapier's Letters of Dean Swift, — his Britannic Majesty is expected at Berlin. At Berlin; properly at Charlottenburg, a pleasant rural or suburban Palace (built by his Britannic Majesty's late noble Sister, Sophie Charlotte, "the Republican Queen," and named after her, as was once mentioned), a mile or two South-west of that City. There they await King George's counter-visit.

Poor Wilhelmina is in much trepidation about it; and imparts her poor little feelings, her anticipations and experiences, in readable terms:

"There came, in those weeks, one of the Duke of Gloucester's gentlemen to Berlin," — *Duke of Gloucester* is Fred our intended, not yet Prince of Wales, and if the reader should ever hear of a *Duke of Edinburgh*, that too is Fred, — "Duke of Gloucester's gentlemen to Berlin," says Wilhelmina: "the Queen had Soiree (*Appartement*); he was presented to her as well as to me. He made me a very obliging compliment on his Master's part; I blushed, and answered only by a curtsy. The Queen, who had her eye on me, was very angry I had answered the Duke's compliments in mere silence; and rated me sharply (*me lava la tête d'importance*) for it; and ordered me, under pain of her indignation, to repair that fault to-morrow. I retired, all in tears, to my room; exasperated against the Queen and against the Duke; I swore I would

"never marry him, would throw myself at the feet" — And so on, as young ladies of vivacious temper, in extreme circumstances, are wont: — did speak, however, next day, to my Hanover gentleman about his Duke, a little, though in an embarrassed manner. Alas, I am yet but fourteen, gone the 3d of July last: tremulous as aspen-leaves; or say, as sheet-lightning bottled in one of the thinnest human skins; and have no experience of foolish Dukes and affairs! —

"Meanwhile," continues Wilhelmina, "the King of England's time of arrival was drawing nigh. We repaired, on the 6th of October, to Charlottenburg to receive him. The heart of me kept beating, and I was in cruel agitations. "King George" (my Grandfather and Grand Uncle) "arrived on the 8th, about seven in the evening;" — dusky shades already sinking over Nature everywhere, and all paths growing dim. Abundant flunkys, of course, rush-out with torches or what is needful. "The King of Prussia, the Queen and all their Suite received him in the Court of the Palace, the 'Apartments' being on the ground-floor. So soon as he had saluted the King and Queen, I was presented to him. He embraced me; and turning to the Queen said to her, "Your daughter is very big of her age!" He gave the Queen his hand, and led her into her apartment, whither everybody followed them. As soon as I came in, he took a light from the table, and surveyed me from head to foot. I stood motionless as a statue, and was much put out of countenance. All this went on without his uttering the least word. Having thus passed me in review, he addressed himself to my Brother, whom he caressed much, and amused himself with, for a good while." Pretty little Grandson this, your Majesty; — any future of history in this one, think you? "I," says Wilhelmina, "took the opportunity of slipping-out;" — hopeful to get away; but could not, the Queen having noticed,

"The Queen made me a sign to follow her; and passed into a neighbouring apartment, where she had the English and Germans of King George's Suite successively presented to her. After some talk with these gentlemen, she withdrew; leaving me to entertain them, and saying: 'Speak English to my Daughter; you will find she speaks it very well.' I felt much less embarrassed, once the Queen was gone; and picking-up a little courage, I entered into conversation with these English. As I spoke their language like my mother-tongue, I got pretty well out of the affair, and everybody seemed charmed with me. They made my eulogy to the Queen; told her I had quite the English air, and was made to be their Sovereign one day. It was saying a great deal on their part: for these English think themselves so much above all other people, that they imagine they are paying a high compliment when they tell any one he has got English manners.

"Their King" (my Grandpapa) "had got Spanish manners, I should say: he was of an extreme gravity, and hardly spoke a word to anybody. He saluted Madam Sonsfeld" (my invaluable thrice-dear Governess) "very coldly; and asked her, 'If I was always so serious, and if my humour was of the melancholy turn?' 'Anything but that, Sire,' answered the other: 'but the respect she has for your Majesty prevents her from being as sprightly as she commonly is.' He wagged his head, and answered nothing. The reception he had given me, and this question, of which I heard, gave me such a chill, that I never had the courage to speak to him," — was merely looked-at with a candle by Grandpapa.

"We were summoned to supper at last, where this grave Sovereign still remained dumb. Perhaps he was right, perhaps he was wrong; but I think he followed the proverb,

"which says, Better hold your tongue than speak badly. At the end of the repast he felt indisposed. The Queen would have persuaded him to quit table; they bandied compliments a good while on the point; but at last she threw-down her napkin, and rose. The King of England naturally rose too; but began to stagger; the King of Prussia ran up to help him, all the company ran bustling about him; but it was to no purpose: he sank on his knees; his peruke falling on one side, and his hat" (or at least his head, Madam!) "on the other. They stretched him softly on the floor; where he remained a good hour without consciousness. The pains they took with him brought back his senses, by degrees, at last. The Queen and the King (of Prussia) were in despair all this while. Many have thought this attack was a herald of the stroke of apoplexy which came by and by," — within four years from this date, and carried-off his Majesty in a very gloomy manner.

"They passionately entreated him to retire now," continues Wilhelmina; "but he would not by any means. He led-out the Queen, and did the other ceremonies, according to rule; had a very bad night, as we learned underhand;" — but persisted stoically nevertheless, being a crowned Majesty, and bound to it. He stoically underwent four or three other days, of festival, sight-seeing, "pleasure" so-called; — among other sights, saw little Fritz drilling his Cadets at Berlin; — and on the fourth day (12th October 1723, so thinks Wilhelmina) fairly "signed the Treaty of the Double-Mariage," English Townshend and the Prussian Ministry "having settled all things."*

* Wilhelmina, *Mémoires de Bareith*, 1. 83, 87. — In Coxe (*Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, London, 1798), II. 266, 272, 273, are some faint hints, from Townshend, of this Berlin journey.

"Signed the Treaty," thinks Wilhemina, "all things being settled." Which is an error on the part of Wilhemina. Settled, many or all things were, by Townshend and the others: but before signing, there was Parliament to be apprised, there were formalities, expenditure of time; between the cup and the lip, such things to intervene; — and the sad fact is, the Double-Marriage Treaty never was signed at all! — However, all things being now settled ready for signing, his Britannic Majesty, next morning, set-off for the *Göhrde* again, to try if there were any hunting possible.

This authentic glimpse, one of the few that are attainable, of their first Constitutional King, let English readers make the most of. The act done proved dreadfully momentous to our little Friend, his Grandson; and will much concern us!

Thus, at any rate, was the Treaty of the Double-Marriage settled, to the point of signing, — thought to be as good as signed. It was at the time when Czar Peter was making armaments to burn Sweden; when Wood's Halfpence (on behalf of her Improper Grace of Kendal, the lean Quasi-Wife, "Maypole" or Hop-pole, who had run short of money, as she often did) were about beginning to jingle in Ireland;* when Law's Bubble "System" had fallen, well flaccid, into Chaos again; when Dubois the unutterable Cardinal had at length died, and d'Orléans the unutterable Re-

* Coxe (l. 216, 217, and supply the dates); Walpole to Townshend, 18th October 1723 (lb. ii. 275); "*The Drapier's Letters*" are of 1724.

gent was unexpectedly about to do so, — in a most surprising Sodom-and-Gomorrah manner.* Not to mention other dull and vile phenomena of putrid fermentation, which were transpiring, or sluttishly bubbling-up, in poor benighted rotten Europe here or there; — since these are sufficient to date the Transaction for us; and what does not stick to our Fritz and his affairs it is more pleasant to us to forget than to remember, of such an epoch.

Hereby, for the present, is a great load rolled from Queen Sophie Dorothee's heart. One, and that the highest, of her abstruse negotiations, cherished, laboured in, these fourteen years, she has brought to a victorious issue, — has she not? Her poor Mother, once so radiant, now so dim and angry, shut in the Castle of Ahlden, does not approve this Double-Marrriage; not she for her part; — as indeed evil to all Hanoverian interests is now chiefly her good, poor Lady; and she is growing more and more of a Megæra every day. With whom Sophie Dorothee has her own difficulties and abstruse practices; but struggles always to maintain, under sevenfold secrecy, some thread of correspondence and pious filial ministration wherever possible; that the poor exasperated Mother, wretchedest and angriest of women, be not quite cut-off from the kinship of the living, but that some soft breath of pity may cool her burning heart now and then.**

* 2d December 1728: Barbier, *Journal Historique du Règne de Louis XV.* (Paris, 1847), i. 192, 196; Lacretelle, *Histoire de France*, 18^{me} siècle; &c.

** In *Memoirs of Sophia Dorothea* (London, 1845), II. 385, 393, are certain fractions of this Correspondence, "edited" in an amazing manner.

A dark tragedy of Sophie's, this; the Bluebeard Chamber of her mind, into which no eye but her own must ever look.

Princess Amelia comes into the World.

In reference to Queen Sophie, and chronologically if not otherwise connected with this Double-Marriage Treaty, I will mention one other thing. Her Majesty had been in fluctuating health, all summer; unaccountable symptoms turning-up in her Majesty's constitution, languors, qualms, especially a tendency to swelling or increase of size, which had puzzled and alarmed her Doctors and her. Friedrich Wilhelm, on conclusion of the Marriage-Treaty, had been appointed to join his Father-in-law, Britannic George, at the Göhrde, in some three-weeks time, and have a bout of hunting. On the 8th of November, bedtime being come, he kissed his Wilhelmina and the rest, by way of good-bye; intending to start very early on the morrow: — long journey (150 miles or so), to be done all in one day. In the dead of the night, Queen Sophie was seized with dreadful colics, — pangs of colic or who knows what; — Friedrich Wilhelm is summoned; rises in the highest alarm; none but the maids and he at hand to help; and the colic, or whatever it may be, gets more and more dreadful.

Colic? O poor Sophie, it is travail, and no colic; and a clever young Princess is suddenly the result! None but Friedrich Wilhelm and the maid for mid-

wives; mother and infant, nevertheless, doing perfectly well. Friedrich Wilhelm did not go on the morrow, but next day; laughed, ever and anon in loud hahas, at the part he had been playing; and was very glad and merry. How the experienced Sophie, whose twelfth child this is, came to commit such an oversight, is unaccountable; but the fact is certain, and made a merry noise in the Court circles.*

The clever little Princess, now born in this manner, is known by name to idle readers. She was christened *Amelia*; and we shall hear of her in time coming. But there was, as the Circulating Libraries still intimate, a certain loud-spoken braggart of the histrionic-heroic sort, called Baron Trenck, windy, rash, and not without mendacity, who has endeavoured to associatate her with his own transcendent and not undeserved ill-luck; hinting the poor Princess into a sad fame in that way. For which, it would now appear, there was no basis whatever! Most condemnable Trenck; — whom, however, Robespierre guillotined finally, and so settled that account and others.

Of Sophie Dorothee's twelve children, including this *Amelia*, there are now eight living, two boys, six girls; and after *Amelia*, two others, boys, are successively to come: ten in all, who grew to be men and women. Of whom perhaps I had better subjoin a List; now that the eldest Boy and Girl are about to get settled in life; and therewith close this Chapter.

* Pöllnitz, II. 199; *Wilhelmina*, I. 87. 88.

Friedrich Wilhelm's Ten Children.

Marriage to Sophie Dorothee, 28th November 1706.

A little Prince, born 23d November 1707, died in six months. Then came,

1°. FREDERIKA SOPHIE WILHELMINA, ultimately Margravine of Baireuth, after strange adventures in the marriage-treaty way. Wrote her *Mémoires* there, about 1744. Of whom we shall hear much. Left a Daughter, her one child; Daughter badly married, to "Karl reigning Duke of Würtemberg" (Poet Schiller's famous Serene Highness there), from whom she had to separate, &c., with anger enough, by and by.

After Wilhelmina in the Family series came a second Prince, who died in the eleventh month. Then, 24th January 1712,

2°. FRIEDRICH.

After whom (1713) a little Princess, who died in few months. And then,

3°. FREDERIKA LOUISA, born 28th September 1714; age now about nine. Margravine of Anspach, 30th May 1729; Widow 1757. Her one Son, born 1736, was the *Lady-Craven's* Anspach. Frederika Louisa died 4th February 1784.

4°. PHILIPPINA CHARLOTTE, born 13th March 1716; became Duchess of Brunswick (her Husband was Eldest Brother of the 'Prince Ferdinand' so famous in England in the Seven-Years War); her Son was the Duke who invaded France in 1792, and was tragically hurled to ruin in the Battle of Jena, 1806. The Mother lived till 1801; Widow since 1780.

After whom, in 1717, again a little Prince, who died within two years (our Fritz then seven, — probably the first time Death ever came before him, practically into his little thoughts in this world): then,

5°. SOPHIE DOROTHEE MARIA, born 25th January 1719;

Margravine of Schwedt, 1734 (eldest Markgraf of Schwedt, mentioned above as a comrade of the Crown-Prince). Her life not very happy; she died 1765. Left no son (Brother-in-law succeeded, last of the Schwedt *Margraves*): her Daughter, wedded to Prince Friedrich Eugen, a Prussian Officer, Cadet of Württemberg and ultimately Heir there, is Ancestress of the Württemberg Sovereignities that now are, and also (by one of *her* daughters married to Paul of Russia) of all the Czar kindred of our time.*

6°. LOUISA ULRIQUE, born 24th July 1720; married Adolf Friedrich, Heir-Apparent, subsequently King of Sweden, 17th July 1744; Queen (he having acceded) 6th April 1751; Widow, 1781; Mother of the subsequent Kings; her Grandson the *Deposed*.** Died at Stockholm 16th July 1782.

7°. AUGUST WILHELM, born 9th August 1722; Heir-Apparent after Friedrich (so declared by Friedrich, 30th June 1744); Father of the Kings who have since followed. He himself died, in sad circumstances, as we shall see, 12th June 1758.

8°. ANNA AMELIA, born 9th November 1723,—on the terms we have seen.

9°. FRIEDRICH HEINRICH LUDWIG, born 18th January 1726; — the famed Prince Henri, of whom we shall hear.

10°. AUGUST FERDINAND, born 23d May 1730: a brilliant soldier under his Brother, full of spirit and talent, but liable to weak health; — was Father of the 'Prince Louis Ferdinand' (a tragic Failure of something considerable, who went-off in Liberalism, wit, in high sentiment, expenditure and debauchery, greatly to the admiration of some persons; and at length rushed desperate upon the French, and found his quietus [10th October 1806], four days before the Battle of Jena).

* Preuss, iv. 278; Erman, *Vie de Sophie Charlotte*, p. 272.

** Cœrtel, p. 83; Hübner, tt. 91, 237.

CHAPTER II.

A KAISER HUNTING SHADOWS.

TREATY of Double-Marriage is ready for signing, once the needful Parliamentary preludings are gone through; Treaty is signed, thinks Wilhelmina, — forgetting the distance between cup and lip! — As to signing, or even to burning, and giving-up the thought of signing, alas, how far are we yet from that! Imperial spectre-huntings, and the politics of most European Cabinets will connect themselves with that; and send it wandering wide enough, — lost in such a jungle of intrigues, pettifoggings, treacheries, diplomacies domestic and foreign, as the course of true-love never got entangled-in before.

The whole of which extensive Cabinet operations, covering square miles of paper at this moment, — having nevertheless, after ten years of effort, ended in absolute zero, — were of no worth even to the managers of them; and are of less than none to any mortal now or henceforth. So that the method of treating them becomes a problem to History. To pitch them utterly out of window, and out of memory, never to be mentioned in human speech again: this is the manifest prompting of Nature; — and this, were not our poor Crown-Prince and one or two others involved in them, would be our ready and thrice-joyful course.

Surely the so-called "Politics of Europe" in that day are a thing this Editor would otherwise, with his whole soul, forget to all eternity! "Putrid fermentation," ending, after the endurance of much malodour, in mere zero to you and to every one, even to the rotting-bodies themselves: — is there any wise Editor that would connect himself with that? These are the fields of History which are to be, so soon as humanly possible, *suppressed*; which only Mephistopheles, or the Bad Genius of mankind, can contemplate with pleasure.

Let us strive to touch lightly the chief summits, here and there, of that intricate, most empty, mournful Business, — which was really once a Fact in practical Europe, not the mere Nightmare of an Attorney's Dream; — and indicate, so far as indispensable, how the young Friedrich, Friedrich's Sister, Father, Mother, were tribulated, almost heartbroken and done to death, by means of it.

Imperial Majesty on the Treaty of Utrecht.

Kaiser Karl VI., head of the Holy Romish Empire at this time, was a handsome man to look upon; whose life, full of expense, vicissitude, futile labour and adventure, did not prove of much use to the world. Describable as a laborious futility rather. He was second son of that little Leopold, the solemn little Herr in red stockings, who had such troubles, frights, and runnings to-and-fro, with the sieging Turks, liberative

Sobieskis, acquisitive Louis Fourteenth; and who at length ended in a sea of futile labour, which they call the Spanish-Succession War.

This Karl, second son, had been appointed "King of Spain" in that futile business; and with much sublimity, though internally in an impoverished condition, he proceeded towards Spain, — landing in England to get cash for the outfit; — arrived in Spain; and roved-about there as Titular King for some years, with the fighting Peterboroughs, Galways, Stahrembergs; but did no good there, neither he nor his Peterboroughs. At length, his Brother Joseph, Father Leopold's successor, having died,* Karl came home from Spain to be Kaiser. At which point, Karl would have been wise to give-up his Titular Kingship in Spain; for he never got, nor will get, anything but futile labour from hanging to it. He did hang to it nevertheless; and still, at this date of George's visit and long afterwards, hangs, — with notable obstinacy. To the woe of men and nations: punishment doubtless of his sins and theirs! —

Kaiser Karl shrieked mere amazement and indignation, when the English tired of fighting for him and it. When the English said to their great Marlborough: "Enough, you sorry Marlborough! You have beaten Louis XIV. to the suppleness of washleather, at our bidding; that is true, and that may have had its difficulties: but, after all, we prefer to have the thing precisely as it would have been without any fighting,

* 17th April 1711.

You, therefore, what is the good of you? You are a — person whom we fling-out like sweepings, now that our eyesight returns, and accuse of common stealing. Go and be —!” —

Nothing ever had so disgusted and astonished Kaiser Karl as this treatment, — not of Marlborough, whom he regarded only as he would have done a pair of military boots or a holster-pistol of superior excellence, for the uses that were in him, — but of the Kaiser Karl his own sublime self, the heart and focus of Political Nature; left in this manner, now when the sordid English and Dutch declined spending blood and money for him farther. “Ungrateful, sordid, inconceivable souls,” answered Karl, “was there ever, since the early Christian times, such a martyr as you have now made of me!” So answered Karl, in diplomatic groans and shrieks, to all ends of Europe. But the sulky English and Allies, thoroughly tired of paying and bleeding, did not heed him; made their Peace of Utrecht* with Louis XIV., who was now beaten supple; and Karl, after a year of indignant protests, and futile attempts to fight Louis on his own score, was obliged to do the like. He has lost the Spanish crown; but still holds by the shadow of it; will not quit that, if he can help it. He hunts much, digests well; is a sublime Kaiser though internally rather poor, carrying his head high; and seems to himself, on some sides of his life, a martyred much-enduring man.

* Peace of Utrecht, 11th April 1713; Peace of Rastadt (following upon the Preliminaries of Baden), 6th March 1714.

Imperial Majesty has got happily wedded.

Kaiser Karl, soon after the time of going to Spain, had decided that a Wife would be necessary. He applied to Caroline of Anspach, now English Princess of Wales, but at that time an orphaned Brandenburg-Anspach Princess, very beautiful, graceful, gifted, and altogether unprovided-for; living at Berlin, under the guardianship of Friedrich the first King. Her young Mother had married again, — high enough match (to Kur-Sachsen, elder Brother of August the Strong, August at that time without prospects of the Electorate); — but it lasted short while: Caroline's Mother and Saxon Stepfather were both now, long since, dead. So she lived at Berlin, brilliant though unportioned; — with the rough cub Friedrich Wilhelm much following her about, and passionately loyal to her, as the Beast was to Beauty; whom she did not mind, except as a cub loyal to her; being five years older than he.* Indigent bright Caroline, a young lady of fine aquiline features and spirit, was applied-for to be Queen of Spain; wooer a handsome man, who might even be Kaiser by and by. Indigent bright Caroline at once answered, No. She was never very orthodox in Protestant theology; but could not think of taking-up Papistry for lucre's and ambition's sake: be that always remembered on Caroline's behalf.

The Spanish Majesty next applied at Brunswick

* Förster, i. 107.

Wolfenbüttel; no lack of Princesses there: Princess Elizabeth, for instance; Protestant she too, but perhaps not so squeamish? Old Anton Ulrich, whom some readers know for the idle Books, longwinded Novels chiefly, which he wrote, was the Grandfather of this favoured Princess; a goodnatured old gentleman, of the idle ornamental species, in whose head most things, it is likely, were reduced to vocables, scribble and sentimentality; and only a steady internal gravitation towards praise and pudding was traceable as very real in him. Anton Ulrich, affronted more or less by the immense advancement of Gentleman Ernst and the Hanoverian or *Younger* Brunswick Line, was extremely glad of the Imperial offer; and persuaded his timid Granddaughter, ambitious too, but rather conscience-stricken, That the change from Protestant to Catholic, the essentials being so perfectly identical in both, was a mere trifle; that he himself, old as he was, would readily change along with her, so easy was it. Whereupon the young Lady made the big leap; abjured her religion;* — went to Spain as Queen (with sad injury to her complexion, but otherwise successfully more or less); — and sits now as Empress beside her Karl VI., in a grand enough, probably rather dull, but not singularly unhappy manner.

She, a Brunswick Princess, with Nephews and Nieces who may concern us, is Kaiserinn to Kaiser Karl: for aught I know of her, a kindly simple Wife, and unexceptionable Sovereign Majesty, of the sort

* 1st May 1707, at Bamberg.

wanted; — whom let us remember, if we meet her again one day. I add only of this poor Lady, distinguished to me by a Daughter she had, that her mind still had some misgivings about the big leap she had made in the Protestant-Papist way. Finding Anton Ulrich still continue Protestant, she wrote to him out of Spain: — “Why, O honoured Grandpapa, have you not done as you promised? Ah, there must be a taint of mortal sin in it, after all!” Upon which the absurdly situated old Gentleman did change his religion; and is marked as a Convert in all manner of Genealogies and Histories; — truly an old literary gentleman ducal and serene, restored to the bosom of the Church in a somewhat peculiarly ridiculous manner.* — But to return.

Imperial Majesty and the Termagant of Spain.

Ever after the Peace of Utrecht, when England and Holland declined to bleed for him farther, especially ever since his own Peace of Rastadt made with Louis the year after, Kaiser Karl had utterly lost hold of the Crown of Spain; and had not the least chance to clutch that bright substance again. But he held by the shadow of it, with a deadly Hapsburg tenacity; refused for twenty years, under all pressures, to part with the shadow: “The Spanish Hapsburg Branch is dead; whereupon do not I, of the Austrian Branch, sole

* Michællis, t. 131,

representative of Kaiser Karl the Fifth, claim, by the law of Heaven, whatever he possessed in Spain, by law of ditto? Battles of Blenheim, of Malplaquet, Court-intrigues of Mrs. Masham and the Duchess: these may bring Treaties of Utrecht, and what you are pleased to call laws of Earth; — but a Hapsburg Kaiser knows higher laws, if you would do a thousand Utrechts; and by these, Spain is his!"

Poor Kaiser Karl: he had a high thought in him really, though a most misguided one. Titular King of Men; but much bewildered into mere indolent fatuity, inane solemnity, high-sniffing pride grounded on nothing at all; a Kaiser much sunk in the sediments of his muddy Epoch. Sure enough, he was a proud lofty solemn Kaiser, infinitely the gentleman in air and humour; Spanish gravities, ceremonials, reticences; — and could, in a better scene, have distinguished himself by better than mere statuesque immovability of posture, dignified endurance of ennui, and Hapsburg tenacity in holding the grip. It was not till 1735, after tussellings and wrenchings beyond calculation, that he would consent to quit the Shadow of the Crown of Spain; and let Europe *be* at peace on that score.

The essence of what is called the European History of this Period, such History as a Period sunk dead in spirit, and alive only in stomach, can have, turns all on Kaiser Karl, and these his clutchings at shadows. Which makes a very sad, surprising History indeed; more worthy to be called Phenomena of Putrid Fermentation, than Struggles of Human Heroism to vindi-

cate itself in this Planet, which latter alone are worthy of recording as "History" by mankind.

On the throne of Spain, beside Philip V. the melancholic new Bourbon, Louis XIV.'s Grandson, sat Elizabeth Farnese; a termagant tenacious woman, whose ambitious cupidities were not inferior in obstinacy to Kaiser Karl's, and proved not quite so shadowy as his. Elizabeth also wanted several things: renunciation of your (Kaiser Karl's) shadowy claims; nay of sundry real usurpations you and your Treaties have made on the actual possessions of Spain, — Kingdom of Sicily, for instance; Netherlands, for instance; Gibraltar, for instance. But there is one thing which, we observe, is indispensable throughout to Elizabeth Farnese: the future settlement of her dear Boy Carlos. Carlos, whom as Spanish Philip's second Wife she had given to Spain and the world, as *Second* or supplementary *Infant* there, — a troublesome gift to Spain and others.

"This dear Boy, surely he must have his Italian Apanages, which you have provided for him; Duchies of Parma and Piacenza, which will fall heirless soon. Security for these Italian Apanages, such as will satisfy a Mother: Let us introduce Spanish garrisons into Parma and Piacenza at once! How else can we be certain of getting those indispensable Apanages, when they fall vacant?" On this point Elizabeth Farnese was positive, maternally vehement; would take no subterfuge, denial or delay: "Let me perceive that I shall have these Duchies: that, first of all; or else not

that only, but numerous other things will be demanded of you!"

Upon which point the Kaiser too, who loved his Duchies, and hoped yet to keep them by some turn of the game, never could decide to comply. Whereupon Elizabeth grew more and more termagant; listened to wild counsels; took-up an Alberoni, a Ripperda, any wandering diplomatic bull-dog that offered; and let them loose upon the Kaiser and her other gainsayers. To the terror of mankind, lest universal war should supervene. She held the Kaiser well at bay, mankind well in panic; and continually there came on all Europe, for about twenty years, a terror that war was just about to break-out, and the whole world to take fire. The History so-called of Europe went canting from side to side; heeling at a huge rate, according to the passes and lunges these two giant figures, Imperial Majesty and the Termagant of Spain, made at one another, — for a twenty years or more, till once the duel was decided between them.

There came next to no war, after all; sputterings of war twice over, — 1718, Byng at Messina, as we saw; and then, in 1727, a second sputter, as we are to see: — but the neighbours always ran with buckets, and got it quenched. No war to speak-of; but such negotiating, diplomatising, universal hope, universal fear, and infinite ado about nothing, as were seldom heard of before. For except Friedrich Wilhelm drilling his 50,000 soldiers (80,000 gradually, and gradually even twice that number), I see no Crowned Head in

Europe that is not, with immeasurable apparatus, simply doing *zero*. Alas, in an age of universal infidelity to Heaven, where the Heavenly Sun has *sunk*, there occur strange Spectre-huntings. Which is a fact worth laying to heart. — Duel of Twenty Years with Elizabeth Farnese, about the eventualities of Parma and Piacenza, and the Shadow of the lost Crown of Spain; this was the first grand Spectrality of Kaiser Karl's existence; but this was not the whole of them.

Imperial Majesty's Pragmatic Sanction.

Kaiser Karl meanwhile was rather short of heirs; which formed another of his real troubles, and involved him in much shadow-hunting. His Wife, the serene Brunswick Empress whom we spoke of above, did at length bring him children, brought him a boy even; but the boy died within the year; and, on the whole, there remained nothing but two Daughters; Maria Theresa the elder of them, born 1717, — the prettiest little maiden in the world; — no son to inherit Kaiser Karl. Under which circumstances Kaiser Karl produced now, in the year 1724, a Document which he had executed privately as long ago as 1713, only his Privy Councillors and other Official witnesses knowing of it then;* and solemnly publishes it to the world, as a thing all men are to take notice of. All men had notice enough of this Imperial bit of Sheepskin, before

* 19th April 1713 (Stenzel, III. 522).

they got done with it, five-and-twenty years hence.*
A very famous Pragmatic Sanction; now published for the world's comfort!

By which Document, Kaiser Karl had formally settled, and fixed according to the power he has, in the shape of what they call a Pragmatic Sanction, or unalterable Ordinance in his Imperial House, "That, failing Heirs-male, his Daughters, his Eldest Daughter, should succeed him; failing Daughters, his Nieces; and in short, that Heirs-female ranking from their kinship to Kaiser Karl, and not to any prior Kaiser, should be as good as Heirs-male of Karl's body would have been." A Pragmatic Sanction is the high name he gives this Document, or the Act it represents; "Pragmatic Sanction" being, in the Imperial Chancery and some others, the received title for Ordinances of a very irrevocable nature, which a sovereign makes, in affairs that belong wholly to himself, or what he reckons his own rights.**

This Pragmatic Sanction of Kaiser Karl's, executed 19th April 1713, was promulgated, "gradually," now here now there, from 1720 to 1724,*** — in which later year it became universally public; and was transmitted to all Courts and Sovereignties, as an unalterable law

* Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748.

** A rare kind of Deed, it would seem; and all the more solemn. In 1438, Charles VI. of France, conceding the Gallican Church its Liberties, does it by "*Sanction Pragmatique*;" Carlos III. of Spain (in 1759, "settling the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies on his third son") does the like, — which is the last instance of "*Pragmatic Sanction*" in this world.

*** Stenzel, pp. 522, 523.

Carlyle, *Frederic the Great. II.*

of Things Imperial. Thereby the good man hopes his beautiful little Theresa, now seven years old, may succeed him, all as a son would have done, in the Austrian States and Dignities; and incalculable damages, wars, and chances of war, be prevented, for his House and for all the world.

The world, incredulous of tomorrow, in its lazy way, was not sufficiently attentive to this new law of things. Some who were personally interested, as the Saxon Sovereignty, and the Bavarian, denied that it was just: reminded Kaiser Karl that he was not the Noah or Adam of Kaisers; and that the case of Heirs female was not quite a new idea on sheepskin. No; there are older Pragmatic Sanctions and settlements, by prior Kaisers of blessed memory; under which, if Daughters are to come in, we, descended from Imperial Daughters of older standing, shall have a word to say! — To this Kaiser Karl answers steadily, with endless argument, That every Kaiser is a Patriarch, and First Man, in such matters; and that so it has been pragmatically sanctioned by him, and that so it shall and must irrevocably be. To the other Powers, and indolent impartial Sovereigns of the world, he was lavish in embassies, in ardent representations; and spared no pains in convincing them that tomorrow would surely come, and that then it would be a blessedness to have accepted this Pragmatic Sanction, and see it lying for you as a Law of Nature to go by, and avoid incalculable controversies.

This was another vast Shadow, or confused high-

piled continent of shadows, to which our poor Kaiser held with his customary tenacity. To procure adherences and assurances to this dear Pragmatic Sanction, was, even more than the shadow of the Spanish Crown, and above all after he had quitted that, the one grand business of his Life henceforth. With which he kept all Europe in perpetual travail and diplomacy; raying-out ambassadors, and less ostensible agents, with bribes, and with entreaties and proposals, into every high Sovereign Court and every low; negotiating unweariedly by all methods, with all men. For it was his evening-song and his morning-prayer; the grand meaning of Life to him, till Life ended. You would have said, the first question he asks of every creature is, "Will you covenant for my Pragmatic Sanction with me? O, agree to it; accept that new Law of Nature: when the morrow comes, it will be salutary for you!"

Most of the Foreign Potentates idly accepted the thing, — as things of a distant contingent kind are accepted; — made Treaty on it, since the Kaiser seemed so extremely anxious. Only Bavaria, having heritable claims, never would. Saxony too (August the Strong), being in the like case, or a better, flatly refused for a long time; would not, at all, — except for a consideration. Bright little Prince Eugene, who dictated square miles of Letters and Diplomacies on the subject (Letters of a steady depth of dulness, which at last grows almost sublime), was wont to tell his Majesty: "Treatying, your Majesty? A well-trained Army and

a full Treasury; that is the only Treaty that will make this Pragmatic Sanction valid!" But his Majesty never would believe. So the bright old Eugene dictated, — or, we hope and guess, he only gave his clerks some key-word, and signed his name (in three languages, "Eugenio von Savoye") to these square miles of dull epistolary matter, — probably taking Spanish snuff when he had done. For he wears it in both waistcoat-pockets; — has (as his Portraits still tell us) given-up breathing by the nose. The bright little soul, with a flash in him as of Heaven's own lightning; but now growing very old and snuffy.

Shadow of Pragmatic Sanction, shadow of the Spanish Crown, — it was such shadow-huntings of the Kaiser in Vienna, it was this of the Pragmatic Sanction most of all, that thwarted our Prussian Double-Marriage, which lay so far away from it. This it was that pretty nearly broke the hearts of Friedrich, Wilhelmina, and their Mother and Father. For there never was such negotiating; not for admittance to the Kingdom of Heaven, in the pious times. And the open goings-forth of it, still more the secret minings and mole-courses of it, were into all places. Above ground and below, no Sovereign mortal could say he was safe from it, let him agree or not. Friedrich Wilhelm had cheerfully, and with all his heart, agreed to the Pragmatic Sanction; this above-ground, in sight of the sun; and rashly fancied he had then done with it. Till, to his horror, he found the Imperial moles, by way of keeping assurance doubly sure, had been under the foundations

of his very house for long years past, and had all-but brought it down about him in the most hideous manner! —

Third Shadow: Imperial Majesty's Ostend Company.

Another object which Kaiser Karl pursued with some diligence in these times, and which likewise proved a shadow, much disturbance as it gave mankind, was his "Ostend East-India Company." The Kaiser had seen impoverished Spain, rich England, rich Holland; he had taken-up a creditable notion about commerce and its advantages. He said to himself, Why should not my Netherlands trade to the East, as well as these English and Dutch, and grow opulent like them? He instituted (*octroya*) an "Ostend East-India Company," under due Patents and Imperial Sheepskins, of date 17th December 1722,* gave it what freedom he could to trade to the East. "Impossible!" answered the Dutch, with distraction in their aspect: "Impossible, we say; contrary to Treaty of Westphalia, to Utrecht, to Barrier Treaty; and destructive to the best interests of mankind, especially to us and our trade-profits! We shall have to capture your ships, if you ever send any."

To which the Kaiser counterpleaded, earnestly, diligently, for the space of seven years, — to no effect. "We will capture your ships if you ever send any,"

* Buchholz, i. 88; Pffeffel, *Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire d'Allemagne* (Paris, 1776), ii. 522.

answered the Dutch and English. What ships ever could have been sent from Ostend to the East, or what ill they could have done there, remains a mystery, owing to the monopolising Maritime Powers.

The Kaiser's laudable zeal for commerce had to expend itself in his Adriatic Territories, — giving privileges to the Ports of Trieste and Fiume;* making roads through the Dalmatian Hill-Countries, which are useful to this day; — but could not operate on the Netherlands in the way proposed. The Kaiser's Imperial Ostend East-India Company, which convulsed the Diplomatic mind for seven years to come, and made Europe lurch from side to side in a terrific manner, proved a mere paper Company; never sent any ships, only produced Diplomacies, and "had the honour to be." This was the third grand Shadow which the Kaiser chased, shaking all the world, poor crank world, as he strode after it; and this also ended in zero, and several tons of diplomatic correspondence, carried once by breathless estafettes, and now silent, gravitating towards Acheron all of them, and interesting to the spiders only.

Poor good Kaiser: they say he was a humane stately gentleman, stately though shortish; fond of pardoning criminals where he could; very polite to Muratori and the Antiquaries, even to English Rymer, in opening his Archives to them, — and made roads in the Dalmatian Hill-Country, which remain to this day. I do

* Hormayr: *Österreichischer Plutarch*, x. 101.

not wonder he grew more and more saturnine, and addicted to solid taciturn field-sports. His Political "Perforce-Hunt (*Parforce Jagd*)," with so many two-footed terriers, and legationary beagles, distressing all the world by their baying and their burrowing, had proved to be of Shadows; and melted into thin air, to a very singular degree!

CHAPTER III.

THE SEVEN CRISES OR EUROPEAN TRAVAIL-THROES.

IN process of this so terrific Duel with Elizabeth Farnese, and general combat of the Shadows, which then made Europe quake, at every new lunge and pass of it, and which now makes Europe yawn to hear the least mention of it, there came two sputterings of actual War. Byng's sea-victory at Messina, 1718; Spanish "Siege of Gibraltar," 1727, are the main phenomena of these two Wars, — England, as its wont is, taking a shot in both, though it has now forgotten both. And, on the whole, there came, so far as I can count, Seven grand diplomatic Spasms or Crises, — desperate general European Treatyings hither and then thither, solemn Congresses two of them, with endless supplementary adhesions by the minor Powers. Seven grand mother-treaties, not to mention the daughters, or supplementary adhesions they had; all Europe rising spasmodically seven times, and doing its very uttermost to quell this terrible incubus; all Europe changing colour seven times, like a lobster boiling, for twenty years. Seven diplomatic Crises, we say, marked changings of colour in the long-suffering lobster; and two so-called Wars, — before this enormous zero could be settled. Which high Treaties and Transactions, human nature, after

much study of them, grudges to enumerate. Apanage for Baby Carlos, ghost of a Pragmatic Sanction; these were a pair of causes for mankind! Be no word spoken of them, except with regret and on evident compulsion.

For the reader's convenience we must note the salient points; but grudge to do it. Salient points, now mostly wrapt in Orcus, and terrestrially interesting only to the spiders, — except on an occasion of this kind, when part of them happens to stick to the history of a memorable man. To us they are mere bubblings-up of the general putrid fermentation of the then Political World; and are too unlovely to be dwelt on longer than indispensable. Triple Alliance, Quadruple Alliance, Congress of Cambrai, Congress of Soissons; Conference of Pardo, Treaty of Hanover, Treaty of Wusterhausen, what are they? Echo answers, What? Ripperda and the Queen of Spain, Kaiser Karl and his Pragmatic Sanction, are fallen dim to every mind. The Troubles of Thorn (sad enough Papist-Protestant tragedy in their time), — who now cares to know of them? It is much if we find a hearing for the poor Salzburg Emigrants when they get into Preussen itself. Afflicted human nature ought to be, at last, delivered from the palpably superfluous; and if a few things memorable are to be remembered, millions of things unmemorable must first be honestly buried and forgotten! But to our affair, — that of marking the chief bubblings-up in the above-said Universal Putrid Fermentation, so far as they concern us.

Congress of Cambrai.

We already saw Byng sea-fighting in the Straits of Messina; that was part of Crisis Second, — sequel, in powder-and-ball, of Crisis First, which had been in paper till then. The Powers had interfered, by Triple, by Quadruple Alliance, to quench the Spanish-Austrian Duel (about Apanage for Baby Carlos, and a quantity of other Shadows): "Triple Alliance"* was, we may say, when France, England, Holland laboriously sorted-out terms of agreement between Kaiser and Termagant: "Quadruple"** was when Kaiser, after much coaxing, acceded, as fourth party; and said gloomily, "Yes, then." Byng's Sea-fight was when Termagant said, "No, by — the Plots of Alberoni! Never will I, for my part, accede to such terms!" and attacked the poor Kaiser in his Sicilies and elsewhere. Byng's Sea-fight, in aid of a suffering Kaiser and his Sicilies, in consequence. Furthermore, the French invaded Spain, till Messina were retaken; nay the English, by land too, made a dash at Spain, "Descent on Vigo" as they call it, — in reference to which take the following stray Note:

"That same year" (1719, year after Byng's Sea-fight, Messina just about recaptured), "there took effect, planned 'by the vigorous Colonel Stanhope, our Minister at Madrid, 'who took personal share in the thing, a 'Descent on Vigo,' 'sudden swoop-down upon Town and shipping in those 'Gallician, north-west regions. Which was perfectly success-

* 4th January 1717.

** 18th July 1718.

“ful, — Lord Cobham leading; — and made much noise
“among mankind. Filled all Gazettes at that time: but now,
“again, is all fallen silent for us, — except this one thrice-
“insignificant point, That there was in it, ‘in Handyside’s
“‘Regiment,’ a Lieutenant of Foot, by name *Sterne*, who had
“left, with his poor Wife at Plymouth, a very remarkable
“Boy called Lorry, or *Lawrence*; known since that to all
“mankind. When Lorry in his *Life* writes, ‘my Father went
“‘on the Vigo expedition,’ readers may understand this was
“it. Strange enough: that poor Lieutenant of Foot is now
“pretty much all that is left of this sublime enterprise upon
“Vigo, in the memory of mankind; — hanging there, as if by
“a single hair, till poor *Tristram Shandy* be forgotten too.”*

In short, the French and even the English invaded Spain; English Byng and others sank Spanish ships: Termagant was obliged to pack-away her Alberoni, and give-in. She had to accede to “Quadruple Alliance,” after all; making it, so to speak, a Quintuple one; making Peace, in fact,** — general Congress to be held at Cambrai and settle the details.

Congress of Cambrai met accordingly; in 1722, — “in the course of the year,” Delegates slowly raining-in, — date not fixable to a day or month. Congress was “sat,” as we said, — or, alas, was only still endeavouring to get seated, and wandering about among the chairs, — when George I. came to Charlottenburg

* *Memoirs of Lawrence Sterne, written by himself for his Daughter* (see *Annual Register*, Year 1775, pp. 50-52).

** 17th February 1720.

that evening, October 1723, and surveyed Wilhelmina with a candle. More inane Congress never met in this world, nor will meet. Settlement proved so difficult; all the more, as neither of the quarrelling parties wished it. Kaiser and Termagant, fallen as if exhausted, had not the least disposition to agree; lay diplomatically gnashing their teeth at one another, ready to fight again should strength return. Difficult for third parties to settle on behalf of such a pair. Nay at length the Kaiser's Ostend Company came to light: what will third parties, Dutch and English especially, make of that?

This poor Congress, — let the reader fancy it, — spent two years in "arguments about precedencies," in mere beatings of the air; could not get seated at all, but wandered among the chairs, till "February 1724." Nor did it manage to accomplish any work whatever, even then; the most inane of Human Congresses; and memorable on that account, if on no other. There, in old stagnant Cambrai, through the third year and into the fourth, were Delegates, Spanish, Austrian, English, Dutch, French, of solemn outfit, with a big tail to each, — "Lord Whitworth" whom I do not know, "Lord Polwarth" (Earl of Home that will be, a friend of Pope's) were the English Principals:* — there, for about four years, were these poor fellow creatures busied, baling-out water with sieves. Seen through the Horn-Gate of Dreams, the figure of them rises almost grand on the mind.

A certain bright young Frenchman, François Arouet,

* Schöll, II. 197.

— spoiled for a solid law-career, but whose *Œdipe* we saw triumphing in the Theatres, and who will, under the new name of *Voltaire*, become very memorable to us, — happened to be running towards Holland that way, one of his many journeys thitherward; and actually saw this Congress, then in the first year of its existence. Saw it, probably dined with it. A Letter of his still extant, not yet fallen to the spiders, as so much else has done, testifies to this fact. Let us read part of it, the less despicable part, — as a Piece supremely insignificant, yet now in a manner the one surviving Document of this extraordinary Congress; Congress's own works and history having all otherwise fallen to the spiders forever. The Letter is addressed to Cardinal Dubois; — for Dubois, “with the face like a goat,”* yet lived (first year of this Congress); and Regent d'Orléans lived, intensely interested here as third party: — and a goatfaced Cardinal, once pimp and lackey, ugliest of created souls, Archbishop of this same Cambrai “by Divine permission” and favour of Beelzebub, was capable of promoting a young fellow if he chose:

“To his Eminence Cardinal Dubois (from Arouet Junior).

“Cambrai, July 1722.

“* * * We are just arrived in your City, Monseigneur; “where, I think, all the Ambassadors and all the Cooks in “Europe have given one another rendezvous. It seems as if “all the Ministers of Germany had assembled here for the “purpose of getting their Emperor's health drunk. As to

* Herzogin von Orleans: *Briefe*.

"Messieurs the Ambassadors of Spain, one of them hears two masses a day, and the other manages the troop of players. "The English Ministers" (a *Lord Polwarth* and a *Lord Whitworth*) "send many couriers to Champagne, and few to London. For the rest, nobody expects your Eminence here; it is not thought you will quit the Palais-Royal to visit the sheep of your flock in these parts," — no! — "It would be too bad for your Eminence and for us all. * * Think sometimes, Monseigneur, of a man who" — regards your goat-faced Eminence as a beautiful ingenious creature; and such a hand in conversation as never was. "The one thing I will ask" of your goatfaced Eminence "at Paris will be, to have the goodness to talk to me." * * * *

Alas, alas! — The more despicable portions of this Letter we omit, as they are not history of the Congress, but of Arouet Junior on the shady side. So much will testify that this Congress did exist; that its wiggeries and it were not always, what they now are, part of a nightmare-vision in Human History. —

Elizabeth Farnese, seeing at what rate the Congress of Cambrai sped, lost all patience with it; and getting more and more exasperations there, at length employed one Ripperda, a surprising Dutch Black-Artist whom she now had for Minister, to pull the floor from beneath it (so to speak), and send it home in that manner. Which Ripperda did. An appropriate enough catastrophe, comfortable to the reader; upon which perhaps he will not grudge to read still another word?

* *Œuvres de Voltaire*, 97 vols. (Paris, 1825-1834), lxviii. 95, 96.

Congress of Cambrai gets the floor pulled from under it.

Termagant Elizabeth had now one Ripperda for Minister; a surprising Dutch adventurer, once secretary of some Dutch embassy at Madrid; who, discerning how the land lay, had broken-loose from that subaltern career, had changed his religion, insinuated himself into Elizabeth's royal favour; and was now "Duke de Ripperda," and a diplomatic bulldog of the first quality, full of mighty schemes and hopes; in brief, a new Alberoni to the Termagant Queen. This Ripperda had persuaded her (the third year of our inane Congress now running out, to no purpose), That he, if he were sent direct to Vienna, could reconcile the Kaiser to her Majesty, and bring them to Treaty, independently of Congresses. He was sent accordingly, in all privacy; had reported himself as labouring there, with the best outlooks, for some while past; when, still early in 1725, there occurred on the part of France, — where Regent d'Orléans was now dead, and new politics had come in vogue, — that "sending back" of the poor little Spanish Infanta,* and marrying of young Louis XV. elsewhere, which drove Elizabeth and the Court of Spain, not unnaturally, into a very delirium of indignation.

Why they sent the poor little Lady home on those shocking terms? It seems there was no particular reason, except that French Louis was now about fifteen,

* "5th April 1725, quitted Paris" (Barbier, *Journal du Règne de Louis XV.*, i. 218).

and little Spanish Theresa was only eight; and that, under Duc de Bourbon, the new Premier, and none of the wisest, there was, express or implicit, "an ardent wish to see royal progeny secured." For which, of course, a wife of eight years would not answer. So she was returned; and even in a blundering way, it is said, — the French Ambassador at Madrid having prefaced his communication, not with light adroit preludings of speech, but with a tempest of tears and howling lamentations, as if that were the way to conciliate King Philip and his Termagant Elizabeth. Transport of indignation was the natural consequence on their part; order to every Frenchman to be across the border within, say eight-and-forty hours; rejection forever of all French mediation at Cambrai or elsewhere; question to the English, "Will you mediate for us, then?" To which the answer being merely "Hm!" with looks of delay, — order by express to Ripperda, to make straightway a bargain with the Kaiser; almost any bargain, so it were made at once. Ripperda made a bargain: Treaty of Vienna, 30th April 1725:* "Titles and Shadows" each of us shall keep for his own lifetime, then they "shall drop. As to realities again, to Parma and Piacenza among the rest, let these be as in the Treaty of Utrecht; arrangeable in the lump; — and indeed, of Parma and Piacenza perhaps the less we say, the "better at present." This was, in substance, Ripperda's Treaty; the Third great European travail-throe, or change of colour in the long-suffering lobster. Whereby,

* Schönl, II. 201; Coxe, *Walpole*, I. 239-250.

of course, the Congress of Cambrai did straightway disappear, the floor miraculously vanishing under it; and sinks, — far below human eye-reach by this time, — towards the Bottomless Pool, ever since. Such was the beginning, such the end of that Congress, which Arouet *le Jeune*, in 1722, saw as a contemporary Fact, drinking champagne in ramilies wigs, and arranging comedies for itself.

*France and the Britannic Majesty trim the ship again:
How Friedrich Wilhelm came into it. Treaty of
Hanover, 1725.*

The publication of this Treaty of Vienna (30th April 1725), — miraculous disappearance of the Congress of Cambrai by withdrawal of the floor from under it, and close union of the Courts of Spain and Vienna as the outcome of its slow labours, — filled Europe, and chiefly the late mediating Powers, with amazement, anger, terror. Made Europe lurch suddenly to the other side, as we phrased it, — *other* gunwale now under water. Wherefore, in Heaven's name, trim your ship again, if possible, ye high mediating Powers. This the mediating Powers were laudably alert to do. Duc de Bourbon, and his young King about to marry, were of pacific tendencies; anxious for the Balance: still more was Fleury, who succeeded Duc de Bourbon. Cardinal Fleury (with his Pupil Louis XV. under him, producing royal progeny and nothing worse or better as yet) began, next year, his long supremacy in France;

Carlyle, Frederic the Great. II.

an aged reverend gentleman, of sly, delicately cunning ways, and disliking war, as George I. did, unless when forced on him: now and henceforth, no mediating power more anxious than France to have the ship in trim.

George and Bourbon laid their heads together, deeply pondering this little less than awful state of the Terrestrial Balance; and in about six months they, in their quiet way, suddenly came-out with a Fourth Crisis on the astonished populations, so as to right the ship's trim again, and more. "Treaty of Hanover," this was their unexpected manœuvre; done quietly at Herrenhausen, when his Majesty next went across for the Hanover hunting-season. Mere hunting: — but the diplomatists, as well as the beagles, were all in readiness there. Even Friedrich Wilhelm, ostensibly intent on hunting, was come over thither, his abstruse Ilgens, with their inkhorns, escorting him: Friedrich Wilhelm, hunting in unexpected sort, was persuaded to sign this Treaty; which makes it unusually interesting to us. An exceptional procedure on the part of Friedrich Wilhelm, who beyond all Sovereigns stays well at home, careless of affairs that are not his: — procedure betokening cordiality at Hanover; and of good omen for the Double-Marriage?

Yes, surely; — and yet something more, on Friedrich Wilhelm's part. His rights on the Cleve-Jülich Countries; reversion of Jülich and Berg, once Karl Philip shall decease: — perhaps these high Powers, for a consideration, will guarantee one's undoubted

rights there? It is understood they gave promises of this kind, not too specific. Nay we hear farther a curious thing: "France and England, looking for im-mediate war with the Kaiser, advised Friedrich Wil-helm to assert his rights on Silesia." Which would have been an important procedure! Friedrich Wilhelm, it is added, had actual thoughts of it; the Kaiser, in those matters of the *Ritter-Dienst*, of the *Heidelberg Protestants*, and wherever a chance was, had been unfriendly, little less than insulting, to Friedrich Wilhelm: "Give me one single Hanoverian brigade, to show that you go along with me!" said his Prussian Majesty; — but the Britannic never altogether would.*

Certain it is, Friedrich Wilhelm signed: a man with such Fighting-Apparatus as to be important in a Han-over Treaty. "Balance of Power, they tell me, is in a dreadful way: certainly if one can help the Balance a little, why not? But Jülich and Berg, one's own outlook of reversion there, that is the point to be at-tended to: — Balance, I believe, will somehow shift for itself!" On these principles, Friedrich Wilhelm signed, while ostensibly hunting.** Treaty of Hanover, which was to trim the ship again, or even to make it heel the other way, dates itself 3d September 1725, and is of this purport: "We three, France, England, "Prussia to stand-by each other as one man, in case "any of us is attacked, — will invite Holland, Den-mark, Sweden and every pacific Sovereignty to join

* *Œuvres de Frédéric*, t. 153.

** Fassmann, p. 368; Förster, *Urkundenbuch*, p. 67

"us in such convention," -- as they all gradually did, had Friedrich Wilhelm but stood firm.

For it is a state of the Balances little less than awful. Rumour goes that, by the Ripperda bargain, fatal to mankind, Don Carlos was to get the beautiful young Maria Theresa to wife: that would settle the Parma-Piacenza business and some others; that would be a compensation with a witness! Spain and Austria united, as in Karl V.'s time; or perhaps some Succession War, or worse, to fight over again! —

Fleury and George, as Duc de Bourbon and George had done, though both pacific gentlemen, brandished weapons at the Kaiser; strongly admonishing him to become less formidable, or it would be worse for him. Possible indeed, in such a shadow-hunting, shadow-hunted hour! Fleury and George stand looking with intense anxiety into a certain spectral something, which they call the Balance of Power; no end to their exorcisms in that matter. Truly, if each of the Royal Majesties and Serene Highnesses would attend to his own affairs, — doing his utmost to better his own land and people, in earthly and in heavenly respects, a little, — he would find it infinitely profitabler for himself and others. And the Balance of Power would settle, in that case, as the laws of gravity ordered: which is its one method of settling, after all diplomacy! — Fleury and George, by their manifesting, still more by their levying of men, George I. shovelling-out his English subsidies as usual, created deadly qualms in the Kaiser; who still found it unpleasant to "admit

Spanish Garrisons in Parma;" but found likewise his Termagant Friend inexorably positive on that score; and knew not what would become of him, if he had to try fighting, and the Sea-Powers refused him cash to do it.

Hereby was the ship trimmed, and more; ship now lurching to the other side again. George I. goes subsidying Hessians, Danes; sounding manifestoes, beating drums, in an alarming manner: and the Kaiser, except it were in Russia, with the new Czarina Catherine I. (that brown little woman, now become Czarina)*, finds no ally to speak of. An unlucky, spectre-hunting, spectre-hunted Kaiser; who, amid so many drums, manifestoes, menaces, is now rolling eyes that witness everywhere considerable dismay. This is the Fourth grand Crisis of Europe; crisis or travail-throe of Nature, bringing-forth, and unable to do it, Baby Carlos's Apanage and the Pragmatic Sanction. Fourth conspicuous change of colour to the universal lobster, getting itself boiled on those sad terms, for twenty years. For its sins, we need not doubt; for its own long-continued cowardices, sloths and greedy follies, as well as those of Kaiser Karl! —

At this Fourth change we will gladly leave the matter, for a time; much wishing it might be forever. Alas, as if that were possible to us! Meanwhile, let afflicted readers, looking before and after, readier to

* 8th February 1725. Treaty with Kaiser (6th August 1726) went to nothing on her death, 11th May 1727,

forget than to remember in such a case, accept this Note, or Summary of all the Seven together, by way of help:

“Travail-throes of Nature for Baby Carlos’s Italian Apanage; Seven in number.

“1°. Triple Alliance, English, Dutch, French (4th January 1717), saying, ‘Peace, then! No Alberoni-plotting; no Duel-fighting permitted!’ Same Powers, next year, proposing ‘Terms of Agreement; Kaiser gloomily accepting them; which makes it Quadruple Alliance (18th July 1718); Termagant indignantly refusing, — with attack on the Kaiser’s Sicilies.

“2°. First Sputter of War; Byng’s Sea-fight, and the other pressures, compelling Termagant; Peace (26th January 1720); Congress of Cambrai to settle the Apanage and other points.

“3°. Congress of Cambrai, a weariness to gods and men, gets the floor pulled from under it (Ripperda’s feat, 30th April 1725); so that Kaiser and Termagant stand ranked together, Apanage wrapt in mystery, — to the terror of mankind.

“4°. Treaty of Hanover (France, England, Prussia, 3d September 1725) restores the Balances, and more. War imminent. Prussia privately falls-off,” — as we shall see.

[These first Four lie behind us, at this point; but there are Three others still ahead, which we cannot hope to escape altogether; — namely:]

“5°. Second Sputter of War: Termagant besieges Gibraltar (4th March 1727 — 6th March 1728): Peace at that latter date; — Congress of Soissons to settle the Apanage and other points, as formerly.

"6°. Congress of Soissons (14th June 1728 — 9th November 1729), as formerly, cannot in the least: Termagant "whispers England; — there is Treaty of Seville (9th November 1729), France and England undertaking for the "Apanage. Congress vanishes; Kaiser is left solitary, with "the shadow of Pragmatic Sanction, in the night of things. "Pause of an awful nature: — but Fleury does not hasten "with the Apanage, as promised. Whereupon, at length, "7°. Treaty of Vienna (16th March 1731): Sea-Powers, "leading Termagant by the hand, Sea-Powers and no France, "unite with Kaiser again, according to the old laws of "Nature; — and Baby Carlos gets his Apanage, in due "course;" — but does not rest content with it, Mamma nor he, very long!

Huge spectres and absurd bugaboos, stalking through the brain of dull thoughtless pusillanimous mankind, do, to a terrible extent, tumble hither and thither, and cause to lurch from side to side, their ship of state, and all that is embarked there — *breakfast-table*, among other things. Nevertheless, if they were only bugaboos, and mere Shadows caused by Imperial hand-lanterns in the general Night of the world, — ought they to be spoken-of in the family, when avoidable?

CHAPTER IV.

DOUBLE-MARRIAGE TREATY CANNOT BE SIGNED.

HITHERTO the world-tides, and ebbs and flows of external Politics, had, by accident, rather forwarded than hindered the Double-Marriage. In the rear of such a Treaty of Hanover, triumphantly righting the European Balances by help of Friedrich Wilhelm, one might have hoped this little domestic Treaty would, at last, get itself signed. Queen Sophie did hasten-off to Hanover, directly after her Husband had left it under those favourable aspects: but Papa again proved unmanageable; the Treaty could not be achieved.

Alas, and why not? Parents and Children, on both sides, being really desirous of it, what reason is there but it should in due time come to perfection, and, without annihilating Time and Space, make four lovers happy? No reason. Rubs doubtless had arisen since that Visit of George I., discordant procedures, chiefly about Friedrich Wilhelm's recruiting operations in the Hanover territory, as shall be noted by and by: but these the ever-wakeful enthusiasm of Queen Sophie, who had set her whole heart with a female fixity on this Double-Marriage Project, had smoothed-down again: and now, Papa and Husband being so blessedly united in their World-Politics, why not sign the Mar-

riage Treaty? Honoured Majesty-Papa, why not! — “Tush, child, you do not understand. In these tremendous circumstances, the celestial Sign of the *Balance* just about canting, and the Obliquity of the Ecliptic like to alter, how can one think of little marriages? Wait till the Obliquity of the Ecliptic come steadily to its old pitch!” —

Truth is, George was in general of a slow, solemn, Spanish turn of manners; “intolerably proud, too, since he got that English dignity,” says Wilhelmina: he seemed always tacitly to look-down on Friedrich Wilhelm, as if the Prussian Majesty were a kind of inferior clownish King in comparison. It is certain he showed no eagerness to get the Treaty perfected. Again and again, when specially applied-to by Queen Sophie, on Friedrich Wilhelm’s order, he intimated only: “It was a fixed thing, but not to be hurried, — English Parliaments were concerned in it, the parties were still young,” and so on; — after which brief answer he would take you to the window, and ask, “If you did not think the Herrenhausen Gardens and their Leibnitz waterworks, and clipped beech-walls, were rather fine?”*

In fact, the English Parliaments, from whom money was so often demanded for our fat Improper Darlings, lean Improper Kendals and other royal occasions, would naturally have to make a marriage-revenue for this fine Grandson of ours, — Grandson Fred, who is now a young lout of eighteen; leading an extremely

* Pöllnitz, *Memoiren*, ii. 226, 228, &c.

dissolute life, they say, at Hanover; and by no means the most beautiful of mortals, either he or the foolish little Father of him, to our old sad heart. They can wait, they can wait! said George always.

But undoubtedly he did intend that both Marriages should take effect: only he was slow; and the more you hurried him, perhaps the slower. He would have perfected the Treaty "next year," say the Authorities; meant to do so, if well let alone: but Townshend whispered withal, "Better not urge him." Surly George was always a man of his word; no treachery intended by him, towards Friedrich Wilhelm or any man. It is very clear, moreover, that Friedrich Wilhelm, in this Autumn 1725, was, and was like to be, of high importance to King George; a man not to be angered by dishonourable treatment, had such otherwise been likely on George's part. Nevertheless George did not sign the Treaty "next year" either, — such things having intervened; — nor the next year after that, for reasons tragically good on the latter occasion!

These delays about the Double-Marriage Treaty are not a pleasing feature of it to Friedrich Wilhelm; who is very capable of being hurt by slights; who, at any rate, dislikes to have loose thrums flying-about, or that the business of today should be shoved-over upon tomorrow. And so Queen Sophie has her own sore difficulties; driven thus between the Barbarians (that is, her Husband), and the deep Sea (that is, her Father), to and fro. Nevertheless, since all parties to the

matter wished it, Sophie and the younger parties getting even enthusiastic about it; and since the matter itself was good, agreeable so far to Prussia and England, to Protestant Germany and to Heaven and Earth, — might not Sophie confidently hope to vanquish these and other difficulties; and so bring all things to a happy close?

Had it not been for the Imperial Shadow-huntings, and this rickety condition of the celestial Balance! Alas, the outer elements interfered with Queen Sophie in a singular manner. Huge foreign world-movements, springing from Vienna and a spectre-haunted Kaiser, and spreading like an avalanche over all the Earth, snatched-up this little Double-Marriage question; tore it along with them, reeling over precipices, one knew not whitherward, at such a rate as was seldom seen before. Scarcely in the Minerva Press is there record of such surprising, infinite and inextricable obstructions to a wedding or a double-wedding. Time and space, which cannot be annihilated to make two lovers happy, were here turned topsyturvy, as it were, to make four lovers, — four, or at the very least three, for Wilhelmina will not admit she was ever the least in love, not she, poor soul, either with loose Fred or his English out-looks, — four young creatures, and one or more elderly persons, superlatively wretched; and even, literally enough, to do all but kill some of them.

What is noteworthy too, it proved wholly inane, this huge world-ocean of Intrigues and Imperial Necro-

mancy; ran-dry at last into absolute nothing even for the Kaiser, and might as well not have been. And Mother and Father, on the Prussian side, were driven to despair, and pretty nearly to delirium by it; and our poor young Fritz got tormented, scourged, and throttled in body and in soul by it, till he grew to loathe the light of the sun, and in fact looked soon to have quitted said light at one stage of the business.

We are now approaching Act Second of the Double-Marriage, where Imperial Ordnance-Master Graf von Seckendorf, a Black-Artist of supreme quality, despatched from Vienna on secret errand, "crosses the Palace Esplanade at Berlin on a summer evening of the year 1726;" and evokes all the demons on our little Crown-Prince and those dear to him. We must first say something of an important step, shortly antecedent thereto, which occurred in the Crown-Prince's educational course.

END OF VOL. II.

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